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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Fatah Officer Assassinated in Greece

A senior Palestinian officer was shot dead in Athens, Greece, August 20, and his son and driver were slightly wounded by unknown gunmen. Ma'moun Shukri Mraish Zughayar, 35, a lieutenant-colonel in Fatah organisation, died instantly when two armed men on a motorcycle opened fire at his car on the seaside highway near Athens port. His driver and his four-year-old son were wounded and taken to hospital. The Palestinian news agency, WAFA, accused the Israeli secret service, Mossad, of responsibility for the assassination. Zughayar was shot in the neck.

Zughayar, known as Abu Bashar, the PLO officer responsible for Palestinian affairs outside of the occupied territories, was in Athens posing as a Moroccan shipping agent, Ahmad Ali Sianir.

Eyewitnesses told Greek police they saw two armed people driving a Kawasaki motorcycle with Italian plates. They approached Zughayar's Swiss-registered car and opened fire using pistols with silencers.

The three were transferred quickly to hospital, but Zughayar died en route. The PLO has demanded that the Greek government find the killers. WAFA reported that Fatah organisation and the PLO has formed a high-level delegation, including political figures, to follow up the incident in Athens. Police sources say they believe the assassins have already left Greece.

The widow of the martyr said that she and her husband had lived in Piraeus for 18 months and had arrived back from a visit to Tunisia two days ago.

Medical reports say that neither the boy nor the driver are in serious condition.

Ma'moun Shukri Mraish Zughayar was born in Hebron in 1948. He finished secondary school in 1967 and travelled to Jordan and joined Fatah. In the 1970 civil war there, he was arrested and sentenced by the Jordanian authorities to death. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

In 1973, when Zughayar was released, he joined the Beirut Arab University where he obtained a bachelor's degree in economics. He continued his studies at a Soviet military academy in Moscow.

In 1976 he was responsible for security at Dbayeh refugee camp in Lebanon. Zughayar had two daughters and one son.

A PLO statement issued in Tripoli, August 20, said that Zughayar was a senior officer in Fatah and was assigned several years ago to organise the Palestinians living outside the occupied territories.

In Jerusalem, all three Arabic language dailies eulogised Lieutenant-Colonel Zughayar, August 21. *Al Fajr*, *Al Quds* and *Al Shaab* featured the news on their front pages and all carried obituaries.

Reports said his mother, who still lives in Hebron, heard of the news of his death only late at night. The Hebron clans of Mraish, Zughayar, Abu Shkaidem, Zayed and Abu 'Arafeh published front-page obituaries and expressed their condolences to the family of the man who "was felled at the hands of evil."

'Let there be silence!'

(see story page 3)

Arens Opens Dialogue with Jordan Figures

Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens met separately and for the first time with three West Bank and Gaza figures, August 22, for "general discussions on municipal and political issues." A second meeting took place on the following day between the Israeli defence minister and the mayor of Bethlehem, at the municipality. The meetings are part of intensified efforts by both the Israeli authorities and local big businessmen to appoint pro-Jordanian figures to fill mayorship posts in West Bank cities.

The first meeting, which took place at the ministry of defence in Tel Aviv, was described by Arens' spokesman as the beginning of dialogue with Arab leaders on the West Bank and Gaza.

The first day's meetings were attended by Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem, Salman Astal, mayor of Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip, and Hikmat Masri, the chairman of Najah University's Board of Trustees.

Elias Freij, the most politically active of the three, has made frequent trips to Jordan during the past four months and has held meetings with the boycotted Israeli 'civil administration' and the coordinator of military govemorate activities in the occupied territories, General Binyamin Ben Eliezer. He agreed with Arens' spokesman that the meeting represented a change in Israeli policy. The *Jerusalem Post*, August 23, quoted Freij as saying that "it signals a change in Israeli policy, if not politically, then at least in terms of seeking ways to improve day-to-day life in the occupied territories for Arabs."

The meeting, which received extensive coverage from Israeli media, was reported to have dealt with many political issues, including the possible appointment of West Bankers to top municipal positions in the cities of Nablus, Ramallah and Hebron. The Israeli government Arabic language news organ *Al Anba'*, in its August 23 issue, speculated that among leading candidates are Zafer Masri, head of the Nablus Chamber of Commerce, Nadim Zaru, former Jordanian cabinet member and ex-Ramallah mayor who was allowed to retum last year after more than 13 years in exile in

Continued on page 13

NATIONALISTS REJECT HUSSEIN'S HAND

Palestinian national figures in the occupied territories unanimously condemned press statements by Jordan's King Hussein, August 21, in which he publicised his desire to be a partner to the PLO in representing the Palestinian people.

In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Washington Post*, the Jordanian king stated that he and "others in the region" regard the continuing crisis within the PLO as an indication that the organisation had "lost its legitimacy as the sole representative of the Palestinian people."

King Hussein's statements, which coincide with increased efforts on the part of the Israeli authorities to appoint pro-Jordanian figures to posts in the municipalities which they caused to be vacated last year, are rejected by local people as an attempt to pave the way for his participation in US-sponsored negotiations in order to impose an Israeli-American solution on the Palestinian people.

Bassam Shaka'a, the elected mayor of Nablus, described Palestinian national unity within the framework of the PLO as the "only guarantee against attempts to override Palestinian national will." He also stated that it is the duty of Arab nationalists to preserve the unity of the PLO and its representation of the Palestinian people.

Karim Khalaf, elected mayor of Ramallah in 1976 and ousted along with Shaka'a in March 1982, seconded this opinion, adding that the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people stems "only from the Palestinian people's will." He also challenged Arab reactionary regimes which belittle the legitimacy of the PLO and warned that "they will be confronted by the politically conscious Palestinian people."

Ibrahim Dakkak, chairman of the Jerusalem-based Engineers Union, pointed out that the King's statement "seems to signify approval of the US Secretary of State's call on Arab countries to revoke their recognition of the PLO" as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. "The right scale by which to measure the truthfulness of an Arab regime's stand is the degree of support they give to the 1974 Rabat conference resolutions," he emphasised.

Dr Haidar Abd al-Shafi, head of the Red Crescent Society in the Gaza Strip, charged that efforts to exploit the differences within Fatah movement are clearly aimed at weakening the

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Dudeen May Seek US Sanctuary

Mustafa Dudeen, head of the Israeli-backed Federation of Village Leagues in the West Bank, may quit the occupied territories for the United States, according to reports published there last week. The *Defense and Foreign Affairs Weekly*, August 15-21, revealed that Dudeen, "the head of the federation of Village Leagues and Israel's chosen Palestinian spokesman, has quietly applied for a visa to emigrate to the US." In a conversation with an unidentifiable source, *Al Fajr* was told that "the source is impeccable" on this. The State Department, when asked about this, said that "because of the privacy act" they "couldn't comment on it."

Dudeen is visiting the US and has talked in Atlanta, Georgia to US Jewish war veterans. Asked about his visit to the US and the likelihood of his meeting US government officials, the State Department press office said no such meetings are scheduled.

Dudeen told the veterans in Atlanta that he accepts a peaceful solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict based on Camp David and the September 1, 1982 Reagan plan. He also said that negotiations should be conducted with Palestinians on the West Bank, not with the PLO or Jordan.

Dudeen claimed to the Jewish veterans that he represents 70 percent of the Palestinians in the occupied territories (the entire rural population) and presumably, therefore, he should be one of the parties from the territories to negotiate. He condemned terrorism as a means of solving the Middle East problem. State Department officials told *Al Fajr* that Dudeen "did not request, nor receive any official appointments in the US."

STEPS TOWARDS PLO UNITY

New Joint Committees

The PLO executive committee decided, August 24, to form three joint committees composed of members of the three main factions — Fatah, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — for policy review and implementation.

The executive committee authorised one committee to review PNC decisions and ready them for implementation. The second committee was assigned to follow affairs of the occupied territories and the third committee was made responsible for supervising the establishment of a Palestinian broadcasting station, to be based in Tunisia.

The executive also reviewed the results of the Palestinian committees which had been established to resolve the crisis within Fatah and the rift between Syria and the Palestinian leadership. The committee, initiated by the Palestine Central Council, suggested in a memorandum that a temporary joint leadership committee be formed from the Palestinian leadership and the opposition with the aide of Khaled Fahoum, the chairman of the PNC.

The task of this temporary joint leadership would be to lead the Fatah movement in all spheres — military, organisational, social and informational. This leadership committee would be dismantled after the election of a new executive committee for Fatah during its fifth general conference. The temporary committee would also work as a preparatory committee for this conference, the memorandum proposed.

The PLO executive committee underscored the necessity of maintaining the present inter-faction cease-fire and an end to the media campaigns by both sides, in order to strengthen the unity of the PLO.

The Palestinian committee assigned to solve the crisis in Fatah presented their memorandum to the two sides.

PLO CADRES SENTENCED TO DEATH

A Lebanese military court sentenced, August 19, two Palestinians to death after finding them guilty of attempting to assassinate a Lebanese major.

Mohammad Musa and Marwan Fahoum, members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, were accused of attempting to kill Qassem Silbini, the chairman of the intelligence branch of the Lebanese army, in April 1982. Marwan Fahoum was sentenced *in absentia*.

The military court sentenced another Palestinian, Faisal Faris, to life imprisonment.

The official spokesman of the PFLP denied, August 20, that members of the movement attempted to assassinate the head of the Lebanese intelligence organ in South Lebanon.

The PFLP release asserted that sentences were an integral part of the Lebanese authorities' and Phalangists' acts of aggression against the Palestinian people and the Lebanese National Forces. The statement affirmed that the PFLP will make all efforts to put an end to these practices.

The PFLP spokesman also denounced the decision of Lebanese authorities to expel Salah Salah, a member of the executive committee for Palestinian affairs in Lebanon. The spokesman called for a united decision to counter the Lebanese policy and to protect the rights of the Palestinian people in Lebanon.

Tension Heightens in Lebanon Over Israeli Redeployment

Clashes erupted this week in all three major zones of Israeli-occupied Lebanon — the Shouf and Aley mountain regions and the confrontation line with Syria in the Beqa'a valley.

Reports said that two Lebanese National Resistance Front fighters were killed in separate clashes with Israeli troops. At least 10 Israelis were injured. The most serious fighting was along the cease-fire lines.

According to foreign reports, Israeli troops preparing for the partial pullback have been systematically firing at Palestinian and Syrian positions.

The intermittent bombardment was begun by Israeli troops, August 23, in response to fear of increasing attacks against their thinly spread positions, especially in the northern area along the cease-fire lines, as a result of redeployment plans.

The shelling started after land mines planted on a dirt road in the Amiq area exploded, August 23, wounding four Israeli soldiers. Their jeep was destroyed. In the ensuing manhunt, an Israeli military spokesman reported, three fighters were tracked to the eastern slopes of Jabal Barouk, where they split into two groups. Israeli troops battled with one fighter, who wounded another Israeli soldier before he was killed. Foreign news correspondents also reported Israeli over-flights of the cease-fire lines.

In South Lebanon, resistance operations continued as usual. At least seven military attacks were carried out, one which was against a Sa'ad Haddad aide. AFP reported that Israeli soldiers were wounded, August 23, when a land mine exploded near the village of Mdokha in eastern Lebanon. Israeli troops closed off the area, conducted a house-to-house search in the village and arrested two residents, apparently in connection with the mine.

In an earlier incident, August 21, Israeli troops engaged a National Resistance fighter north of Tyre after he fired a bazooka at an Israeli position in the area. The Israeli military spokesman claimed that the fighter was killed. There was no independent confirmation.

One day earlier, Palestinian sources in Lebanon reported that three Israeli soldiers were either killed or injured. No details were given.

National resistance fighters also attacked a checkpost manned by "National Guard" forces, near Tabnine, in the south. The "Guard" was established by Israel after the invasion. There were no reports on the casualty figures.

The increase in military attacks continued to draw violent response from the occupation army. Stricter implementation of repressive measures was evident during the past few weeks. There have been several reports of villages being laid seige and house-to-house searches. Reports of detentions in Ansar camp are also up. In one raid on the village of Zrariyeh, midway between Nabatiyeh and Tyre, five residents were arrested early this week. Three other villages, Rachaya al-Fukhar, Kufr Hamam and Kufr Chouba, were also placed under curfew and thoroughly searched.

The Shouf Mountains

Military activities resumed in the Shouf mountains, August 2, after one week of truce between Progressive Socialist Party and Lebanese Government-Phalangist forces. According to Lebanese reports, the army strengthened its positions around Beirut airport and in the vicinity of the capitol. Meanwhile, Israeli, Lebanese army and Phalangist officers have coordinated plans for the entry of the Lebanese army into the Shouf mountains.

According to *Al Ittihad*, quoting outside news reports, three army divisions, totaling 10,800 soldiers, are being prepared to enter the Shouf mountains within 48 hours of an Israeli pullout. Reports also state that 500 French troops from the multinational contingent will aid the Lebanese army.

On the other hand, Israeli military sources say that PSP fighters, presently dominating the Shouf mountains, have prepared a battle plan to take over areas which Israeli-troops will leave.

In the meantime, intermittent exchange of fire was reported on a daily basis after cease-fire arrangements broke down, August 22. Reports said that at least five Lebanese civilians were killed in the fiercest battles on August 22. There were reports, on the following day, of kidnappings and sniping incidents.

They Killed Their Own

The British newspaper *The Times* revealed that Israeli planes attacked a convoy of their own tanks by mistake in the first week of the invasion of Lebanon, last year.

The Times correspondent in Beirut said: "Although in Israel this is still kept secret, recently Israeli sources in Lebanon confirmed that on June 10, 1982, a tragic accident occurred." The report added that according to those sources, the Israeli war planes mistakenly bombarded a tank unit, 10 kilometres south of Lake Kara'oun, when the unit was moving in the direction of the Syrian forces in the southern part of the Beqa'a valley.

According to *The Times*, many soldiers were killed and injured in this bombardment. An Israeli officer told *The Times* that such mistakes cannot be avoided in the height of battle. (Translation Yediot Aharanot, August 20,1983)

DOE MEETS BEGIN

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and visiting President of Liberia Samuel Doe signed an agreement, August 25, by which Israel will provide training assistance in military, agriculture and manufacturing fields. The agreement came on the third day of the Liberian president's visit to Israel, one week after the West African state decided to resume relations with Israel, which were suspended during the 1973 war. The 38-year-old president, who assumed power in a 1980 coup, was given a red carpet reception and a 21-gun salute at Lydda airport.

Among other issues discussed between the Liberian president and Israeli officials was Libyan backing of nationalist forces against their government, particularly in Chad. Liberia, which was the first African state to acquire independence, is the second state to resume diplomatic ties with Israel. Zaire renewed ties several months ago.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 173, August 26, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	31
Number of articles totally censored out	6
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	4
Number of articles partially censored but used	4
Number of articles passed	17

STUDENTS BOYCOTT JORDAN-IMPOSED EXAM

Over 750 graduates of six West Bank vocational institutes did not turn up to take the controversial Jordanian-'civil administration' comprehensive exam, August 15. Dr Mohammad Zudhdi Abu Ghazaleh, chairman of the committee overseeing the exam in the West Bank, immediately closed exam halls and student dormitories when the extent of the boycott became clear. There has been no official reaction from Jordan.

Students have been opposing implementation of the exam, an addition to the graduation requirements of post-school vocational training establishments, since it was first imposed two years ago. Students call the exam irrelevant and see political motivations behind it.

Two weeks ago, 167 students from Khadouri, 125 from the Agriculture Institute in Tulkarm and 142 at the Arroub government Teachers' Training Centre in the Hebron district filled the preliminary special forms for the comprehensive exam. They too refused to sit for the exam.

Farhan Anis, director of the UNRWA Men's Teacher Training Institute in Ramallah, where 167 graduates refused to sit for the exam, told *Al Fajr* that the comprehensive exam has positive and negative points: "It shows the academic level of the students and consequently the level of the institute; in this it works like the *tawjihi* (matriculation certificate) for secondary schools. The Jordanian ministry of education will give each student an academic diploma after the exam, which will standardise marks," said Anis. "The negative point is that the comprehensive exam will allow greater scope for 'civil administration' interference. For instance, students who fail the exam will not get jobs; the Israeli liaison officer in the West Bank will have the power to prevent students considered to be political activists from sitting for the exam and students who are imprisoned at exam time will not have the opportunity to take it."

The Israeli military officer in charge of education issued instructions, August 19, that vocational institute graduates should not be offered jobs "because their educational level is not high enough."

Students are angry at what they see as official duplicity on the part of the Jordanian authorities. Two weeks ago an UNRWA delegation met Jordanian ministry of education officials in Amman. The UNRWA delegation reportedly informed the officials that the present conditions are not suitable for convening the comprehensive exam and that the exams of the vocational institutes are sufficient for assessing the educational levels of students. Other delegations were told that the exam would be dropped. Nevertheless, the ministry went ahead with implementation.

Last year, Jordan announced postponement of implementation of the comprehensive exam for one year.

What Next?

"Now, after the unanimous attitude of the students," said Farhan Anis, "pressures from the Council of Higher Education (CHE), the Palestinian side of which is represented by Hanna Nasser, who is the PLO official responsible for higher education in the West Bank, must be placed on Jordanian authorities to freeze the comprehensive exam." Anis accused the CHE of not having a clear-cut attitude to the comprehensive exam. CHE officals were not available for comment.

Students of the six West Bank vocational centres which boycotted the exams have expressed anxiety about their futures. The 350 students at the three government-administered institutes: the Women's Government Teacher Training Centres in Ramallah, Arroub, and Khadouri, are especially concerned bacause they only get institute certificates, while UNRWA's diplomas are endorsed by UNESCO.

Administrations at the Polytechnic Institute in Hebron and UNRWA's Kalandia Institute near Ramallah, the two institutes where students sit for exams in the autumn, were asked to give students applications for the comprehensive exam.

Dr. Abu Ghazaleh will leave August 26 for Amman to discuss the comprehensive exam with the Jordanian ministry of education.

Court Rules Land Must Be Restored

The Israeli High Court upheld the legal status quo, August 18, of privately owned land in the Jenin area which landowners had suspected was being prepared for Israeli settlements. According to the decision, the Deir Abu Da'eef land must be restored to its owners by the end of this month after work on the extension of water pipes is completed.

The fifteen landowners made the complaint on July 15, after they found bulldozers of an Israeli contracting company working on land located between Qabatiya and Deir Abu Da'eef. The landowners said that Israeli bulldozers began work in early July digging trenches and clearing roads on the land.

The owners petitioned for an interim order to prevent construction of buildings or the opening of roads on the land as a precautionary measure to avoid any possibility of the land being seized.

In early August, prior to the court hearing, the Israeli government's legal advisor summoned the landowners for discussions about their complaint, during which Sadeq Dhib Abd al-Haq, Farhan Yassin, Najib Hussein Abd al-Qader Yassin and other landowners presented *tabu* (land registration documents) proving their ownership of the land. After inspecting the land documents, the Israeli legal advisor informed the landowners' lawyer, Jawad Boulus, that they have no intention of confiscating the land. He also explained that work being undertaken in the area was to extend water pipes to Israeli settlements and pledged to restore the land features. He also said that the contracting company would be obliged to pay compensation for any property damage incurred as a result of the digging.

The landlowners went to court to obtain legal backing for their land rights and the pledge of the Israeli legal advisor.

Court Approves House Destructions

The Israeli High Court issued, August 22, an endorsement of a decision of the West Bank military commander to destroy two houses in Kufr Malek and Beitillo, the Ramallah district, and the sealing of three others in Kufr Malek, for security reasons.

Members of five families whose homes were threatened were imprisoned in November 1982 for membership in a PLO organisation, carrying out military operations against Israeli soldiers and killing collaborators. Their most prominent victim was the head of the Ramallah Village League, Yusef Khatib.

Their families appealed, earlier this year, for an order to block the decision. The families of Kamal Radwan, from Beitillo and Aref Suleiman Be'rat, 28, from Kufr Malek, told the court that their sons lived in rented houses.

The High Court ruled that they could find no reason to justify intervention in the decision of the military commander. The commander confiscated the houses of arrestees as soon as the cell was discovered and ordered two houses to be destroyed.

The families of the three other detainees: Tarek Mohammed Othman, 26, Munther Suleiman Safa, 17, and Mohammed Namoura, 18, are still living in their houses.

The entrance to the now-closed Al Shira'offices in East Jerusalem./JN

Druze Deny Israelisation

GOLAN HEIGHTS - Free Druze elements in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights issued a strongly worded statement refuting official Israeli government announcements and press reports claiming that the Druze community has lifted its social and religious "ban" on Druze with Israeli citizenship and therefore official ID cards.

Druze elders asserted that they had lifted the ban on social acceptance only in cases where the Druze members involved had sworn an oath in public that they did not have Israeli citizenship.

The statement added that the spiritual leader of the Israeli Druze, Sheikh Amin Tarif, had asked a Lebanese delegation to try and mediate a reconciliation and that the guests and the Free Golan Druze had agreed, but stipulated that no Druze member having Israeli citizenship would be considered a member of the community under any circumstances.

Druze leader, Skeikh Ahmad Qadamani, told *Al Talia*: "Nothing has changed in the attitude of Golan Heights residents against the Israeli occupation and the law annexing the Golan Heights. They still maintain their loyalty to their homeland, Syria."

The statement denounced Druze MK Amal Nasser al-Din and warned him not to set foot in the Golan.

"SECURITY" FINES UPPED

"The Israeli commander of the central region, Uri Orr, recently issued a new amendment to military order 845 which massively increases maximum fines for 'violators of security and order.'

"According to the ammendment, the fines will be doubled to a maximum of IS1,500,000 (US$26,000). The amendment was signed July 10, but has only been made public now.

"Orr said that the amendment is necessary for the security of the area and to maintain order." (Translation: Al Talia, August 25,1983).

Journalists Strike Against AL-SHIRA' Closure

Palestinian journalists in the occupied territories struck, August 23, in protest at the closure of *Al Shira'*, a Jerusalem-based biweekly magazine, closed by order of the Israeli District Commissioner the same day.

A statement of the Palestinian Journalists Association, released to announce the strike, called on all journalists in the world to examine the bad conditions under which the local Palestinian press works.

Al Shira' received the closure order on August 15. District Commissioner Rafael Levy said he had decided to shut the paper following a conversation with editor Walid Assali.

There was no suggestion that *Al Shira'* had violated censorship. The PJA called the basis for Levy's move "arbitrary" and said regulations "enable authorities to close down any newspaper or magazine operating in the occupied territories without explanation."

The statement appealed to the journalists throughout the world: "We call on our colleagues who defend the existence of journalism and support the right of free expression; we call on the organisations concerning the rights of the human beings to support and maintain us; we are waiting for your declaration of support with the Palestinian journalism countering this threat."

Article 92 (2) of 1933, ammended in 1945, of the Emergency (Defence) tions allows the District missioner complete power to .. sue or rescind paper licences without explanation.

Jerusalem Merchants Caught In Israeli Election Wrangles

East Jerusalem Palestinians approached the Israeli municipality, August 21, with a list of demands which, if implemented, would radically transform life in the city. The meeting was dismissed as an Israeli election gimmick by rivals of the Arab Chamber of Commerce chairman, Faeq Barakat, who headed the delegation.

Twelve merchants and shop-keepers accompanied Barakat to a meeting with Qadish, assistant to Teddy Kollek, the Israeli mayor of Jerusalem, at the municipality building.

Barakat presented the municipality with a long list of complaints submitted by the city's Arab population and asked for "urgent measures" to deal with the complaints.

The Chamber demanded a reappraisal of the zoning system of some Jerusalem commerical quarters, which are being unrealistically compared with the commercial districts in West Jerusalem. It asked for a reconsideration of the level of taxes imposed on Arab parts of the city, reducing them and bringing them more in line with the actual economic conditions of residents.

The Chamber demanded better lighting in several busy quarters of the city. It complained that there are some parts of Jerusalem that lack proper street lighting.

The municipality was urged to streamline and speed up the bureaucratic procedures involved in the granting of building and construction permits.

The Chamber of Commerce also raised the question of the continuous harassment and assaults Old City residents are subjected to at the hands of yeshiva students, and called on the authorities to take immediate steps to put an end to such provocations.

The municipality was also asked to look into several complaints connected with the imposition and collection of VAT payments. The Chamber noted that traders were especially resentful of VAT officials and inspectors who often made totally unrealistic assessments, in some cases exceeding actual capital and value of the stock of a merchant. It also suggested that all correspondence connected with taxes be bilingual so that Arabs who did not know Hebrew could understand what was demanded of them.

Traders charge that income tax payments have soared by 400 percent over the previous year and that the tax men are reluctant to grant people in arrears a period of grace, but are quick to take them to court. Court appearances are particularly irritating since they necessarily disrupt business activities, with a resultant downturn in trade and profitability, the Chamber said.

Burglaries and thefts including armed robberies have become endemic in many parts of the city, the Chamber charged, and police inability to prevent robberies or catch criminals has "caused consternation."

Abd al-Raouf Abu Assab, the secretary of the 36-organisation strong Merchants and Factory Owners Federation in Jerusalem, which is part of the Chamber, told *Al Fajr* that the meeting came about whem Jamil Siyag, an assistant of the mayor's advisor for Arab affairs, Morris Zelkha, visited the Arab Chamber of Commerce with a Labour Party representative and demanded the chairman of the Chamber visit the municipality with a merchant's delegation.

Abu Assab claimed that Qadish told the merchants at the meeting to support Teddy Kollek in the elections due for next October. He warned that if Likud won, it would impose heavy taxes on Arab merchants. Abu Assab described the meeting as part of the electoral campaign of the municipality. Barakat was not available for comment on Abu Assab's claim.

Kollek, a Labour Party man, has run the municipality since before occupation. He presently runs on an independent list. He is being challenged for the mayoralty by Shlomo Tussia-Cohen, a leading lawyer from the Oriental Jewish community who is running for Likud.

Ibrahim Abu Omar, a souvenir shop owner and an administrative member of the merchants union, told *Al Fajr that the meeting* between the Chamber of Commerce and members of the municipality "does not aim at serving the interests of local factory owners and merchants. The meeting attendants did not present a memorandum about commercial conditions in East Jerusalem. They only talked about the conditions and taxes in Jerusalem without documenting their demands in a memorandum."

The union of merchants and factory owners is preparing a memorandum to present to the Israeli ministry of finance, demanding they ease the taxation burden, Abu Omar said.

9000 Volunteers Labour in Nazareth

Nine thousand volunteers participated in the Eighth Annual Voluntary Work Camp at Nazareth, according to official figures released at the end of the camp, August 21. The municipality of Nazareth estimated the value of complete projects at IS 110 million.

Three thousand volunteers were natives of Nazareth, 4000 from the occupied territories and 250 Israelis. A 150-strong foreign delegation came from Britain, Cyprus, Germany, USA, France, Ireland, Belgium and Holland.

An official statement said volunteers complete asphalting 25,000 metres of roads in 23 sites. Walls, retaining walls, a crossroads traffic island and works in local institutions were carried out in 83 sites. Twenty-five local engineers were involved in drawing up plans and supervising work in the camp. Construction contractors and professional workers volunteered 75 tractors, drills, compressors and trucks.

Safwan Fahoum, secretary to Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad, commented on the voluntary work. "Every year we are astonished that the community work exceeds our expectations. We did not think that this number of participants, their enthusiasm and the enthusuiasm of neighbourhood committees was possible. The work camp at Nazareth is a real contribution of the Nazareth people."

Talking about the achievements of the work camp in the political arena, Fahoum added, "The impression I got from the foreign delegations was that it shows that the Palestinian people are still alive, dynamic and capable of running their own state. They also received a positive impression of relations between Arabs and Jews."

One of the volunteers from the US added: "For a foreign visitor, the work camp in Nazareth provides a good insight into the productivity of Palestinian nationalism. The Palestinian participants work hard and play hard. A visitor cannot underestimate the amount of organisation and hard work that goes into the planning of the camp. Nor can we minimise the desire and will of the people to take this time to rectify the ineffeciencies of the Israeli government concerning development projects for Nazareth.

"By talking with the Palestinian youths who come from all over '48 Israel and the occupied territories, watching the *dabke* dancers and being taught the words of *Baladi Baladi* (the Palestinian national anthem), we foreign visitors come away with an acute sense of not only the strength of Palestinian culture and nationalism, but also the strangulation of it by the Israeli government."

Officer Boots Terrorism

"We should set up an underground movement to operate in all parts of the world to eliminate Arab terrorism and the leaders of the terrorist organisations." This is what Ya'akov Yishka Eliav, a former officer in the Lehi Zionist (terrorist) organisation said in a meeting on terrorism held by officers from the Israeli police.

HaAretz and *Al Hamishmar*, both of which published this news item, said that Eliav, who was the operations officer of the Lehi, "believes that only an underground movement can eliminate an underground movement."

The papers added that Eliav believes that "personal terrorism must be used in order to kill the heads of terrorism."

According to him, the papers concluded, "It is a deficiency of the state of Israel that Yasir Arafat is still alive." (Translation: HaAretz, Al Hamishmar, August 21, 1983).

Presidential Pardon for Demo Agitator

An Israeli convicted of disturbing the peace at the February 10 Peace Now demonstration at which Emil Grunzweig was killed was given a pardon, August 24, by Israeli president Chaim Herzog, reducing his suspended sentence from three to two years and his fine to a fraction of the original.

Herzog acted on a justice ministry recommendation for a lighter sentence because the man in question, Benyahu Aharoni, 23, served in Lebanon.

So far, police have no suspects in the grenade attack an anti-war demonstrators.

RACIST LABOUR ORGAN

The call voiced by Matti Allon recently, urging the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel, has evoked outrage in several Israeli circles, primarily because it was published in the Histadrut organ, *Davar*.

Readers writing to Israeli papers have denounced the call launched by Allon, which they termed racist and an incitement against the Arabs.

They also have sharp words for the paper, which had shown such a lack of tact and sensitivity, particularly since it purports to represent the interests of the work force in the country.

One reader wondered what good such a report could do. He asked if there was any need to publish such provocative and inflammatory remarks. "We should not allow ourselves to acquiesce to the publication of such material," he said.

Allon's statement was construed as not only an incitement but also as a criminal offence.

Round Up of West Bankers and Gazans

"Nazareth municipality and the committee coordinating the Eight Annual Voluntary Work Camp in the city issued a statement, August 18, condemning the detention of 15 Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza who came to participate in the camp. The statement said that the detentions were aimed at disrupting work in the camp and hindering the work of other participants. It pointed out that there are tens of thousands of West Bank and Gaza residents who stay in Israel overnight to keep their jobs in Israeli-owned firms.

"Several dozen Palestinian residents from various West Bank cities, who came to Nazareth to participate in the work camp, were rounded up on the first two days of the camp. The measure was carried out to prevent the youths from taking part in the event. Israeli police carry out the same type of campaign every year." (Translation: August 20, 1983).

The Dawn

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WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

Another Palestinian official has been gunned down in a European capitol. Another Western government is in the process of failing to find the assassins.

Lieutenant-Colonel Zughayar, the senior Fatah man who died in a busy street in Athens on Saturday last, is mourned by the people he served. His death raises again the question of official European duplicity over, and complicity in, international terror.

The evidence to back the accusation of Western support for some of the anti-Palestinian forces is circumstantial – but there is a lot of it.

When a Palestinian diplomat or official dies, the pattern is always the same – lax border procedures are, according to official spokespeople, "tightened." This announcement is followed sooner (in the case of Greece, an hour or so) or later by estimation that the killers are out of the country concerned. What does not usually happen is a round-up of anti-Palestinian elements sheltering or working in the countries concerned.

Is it reasonable to expect this from Western democracies jealous of individual rights? The answer is yes. These same democracies have little publicised but highly organised secret services constantly gathering information on their own nationals and those of countries they do not ally so closely with. The recent examples:

When Israeli Ambassador to London Argov was shot, last June, a city-wide scoop immediately netted the three men later found guilty of the crime; in Paris recently an Armenian bomb exploded near a Turkish airlines desk. Fifty Armenian activists were rounded up and confessions extracted from some of them – it is now alleged that torture was used.

At the same time, the West constantly improves its supposed "anti-terror" coordination. And yet, most assassins of Palestinians continue to get away scot-free. Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Norway, Spain, Greece, the list of countries is long.

The accusation becomes more serious when one examines the same states' attitude to the Abu Nidal group. When they strike, Europe moves. In London and Portugal, the assassins of Argov and Issam Sartawi were soon picked up. At the same time, killers with other allegiances got away.

European and friendly intelligence services - for instance, the Shah of Iran's SAVAK – have had a free hand in the democratic West. If their governments are truly interested in stopping the murder of Palestinians on their streets, they should get their cloak-and-dagger experts to reexamine relations with their counterparts in "friendly powers."

And how do they know which killings are the work of Abu Nidal and which the work of others?

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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JERUSALEM: A DEAD END JOB

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington DC Correspondent

At the US State Department, August 16, the US expressed its dissatisfaction with Kuwait's refusal of Brandon Grove as US ambassador there because he had previously served as US consulate general to East Jerusalem. Spokesman Allen Romberg said, replying to questions about this issue, "We would find objectionable a restriction of this sort in any event, in light of the US policy on Jerusalem." He continued, "We find it especially ironic that the government of Kuwait chose to take the decision it did."

The US government has resisted Israel's attempts to have the US consulate in East Jerusalem closed and to have its business transferred to the authority of the US embassy in Tel Aviv. Brandon Grove himself has been criticised in the Israeli press as being pro-Palestinian.

Romberg read from a prepared statement: "We do not recognise Jerusalem as Israel's capital. We have never recognised unilateral actions by any state in the area as affecting the status of Jerusalem." The US continues to recognise Jerusalem as part of the West Bank and therefore as occupied territory. As such, it is subject to international law under UN Resolution 242. The office of the US consulate general in Jerusalem "is not accredited to the government of Israel. He reports directly to the Department of State, rather than through the US embassy in Tel Aviv," Romberg concluded.

The Kuwait decision is seen by observers as a signal of its dissatisfaction with current US policy in the Middle East.

Other feelings are being made known via the reception of Robert McFarlane, the new US Special Envoy to the Middle East. In Saudi Arabia he was coldly received. According to reports, he waited 11 hours to meet the Saudi king and finally saw him at midnight. The Saudi government was reported to have told McFarlane that they can't support the Lebanese-Israeli agreement on troop withdrawal from Lebanon.

Another of these signs of a possible temporary cooling of Arab-American relations is said to be an Arab refusal to publicise American military exercises which are taking place in Egypt, Sudan and Somalia. In Oman, the government denied exercises are taking place at all. The US government also has not made any comment about the reported Omani exercises.

The position of US ambassador to Kuwait has been vacant for some time, and was last occupied by Francis Dickman. Romberg said today, "We have no immediate plans to nominate another candidate." He did confirm the Kuwaiti request to the US "to withdraw its request for agreement to the assignment of Mr Grove as the next American ambassador" to Kuwait.

Romberg said that the US "profoundly disagrees with the suggestion that because one of our finest professional officers has been assigned to one post, he can't be assigned to another." He said that these views have been made to "the highest levels of the government of Kuwait."

WCC Backs Palestinian State

by Ghassan Bishara

The sixth assembly of the World Council of Churches just closed its deliberations in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada and issued a series of resolutions about the Middle East. These resolutions, *Al Fajr* was told by Karen Jones, staff member of WCC from New York City, are simply a backing of UN resolutions.

The WCC, which represents more than 400 million Christians in 100 countries, is the largest inter-denominational Christian grouping. It has met every seven years since the first gathering in Amsterdam in 1948. The assembly, during its meetings, elects a body of 145 individuals, the central council, which then meets annually. Invitations are also extended to delegates representing Jews and Muslims.

In Vancouver the WCC assembly described the situation in the Middle East as increasingly dangerous, one which threatens world peace and thus places heavy demands on those in the world who strive for freedom and justice. The assembly resolutions concluded that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last year "further pushed back prospects for peace" in the Middle East and placed the independence and integrity of Lebanon in "greater danger than ever." The assembly also determined that Lebanese sovereignty and integrity are a key to peace in the region, which can be achieved only by total withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon. The assembly thus called for supporting efforts of the Lebanese government in asserting its sovereignty over all its territory and "harmony and unity among all (its) communities."

The council reaffirmed its own previously adopted resolutions for a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, based on UN resolutions. The WCC, however, went a step further by stating in the present resolution that such resolutions as "242 and all other relevant UN resolutions need to be revised and implemented, taking into account changes that have occurred since 1967." These revisions must ensure "withdrawal of Israeli troops from all territories occupied in 1967," the right of all states in the region to live peacefully and within recognised borders and "the implementation of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the right of establishing a sovereign Palestinian state."

The WCC resolutions also called for a comprehensive solution through negotiations which should include all parties to the conflict – Israel, the PLO and neighbouring Arab states – through the UN and with the participation of the US and the USSR in order to facilitate these resolutions. The WCC assembly urged member churches to "build greater awareness... about the urgency and justice of the Palestinian cause" and to support the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine scheduled to begin in Geneva at the end of this month. It also encouraged Palestinian-Israeli dialogue and reminded "Christians in the western world to recognise that their guilt over the fate of Jews in their countries may have influenced their views" of the Middle East conflict and "has often led to uncritical support of the policies of the state of Israel," thus ignoring the Palestinian people's just rights.

About Jerusalem, the assembly of the WCC encouraged actions ensuring "continuous indigenous Christian presence" in the city, calling attention to the "plight of the indigenous Muslim and Christian communities suffering from repressive actions of the occupying power" both in East Jerusalem and in the rest of the occupied territories.

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles, and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Not only a smile....

by Thoma Shick

I happen to have a couple of friends. One was born in Israel to Jewish parents from Eastern Europe, the other in Germany to Christian parents. They met in England. They believe in elements of the three monotheistic religions, in their own interpretation. They are Sufis.

They have four children, each of them has two first names — one Arabic, the other Hebrew. They share their friendship with a wide range of people of various religious, conceptual, ideological, practical and national denominations. They are also learning Arabic, though this is going very slowly as they are busy with the hard earning of their multiple living. They live very simply and modestly and humanely. They have good family contact with a sheikh with whom they frequently exchange family visits.

The grandmother, the man's mother, doesn't share the views of the couple, but she more than tolerates them. The kids are beautiful, wise, loving each other and visitors, whoever and whatsoever they might be. The common language of this "Israeli" — but rather universal — family is English but the children speak well the Hebrew they picked up from the neighbourhood. They know a few words in Arabic from visitors.

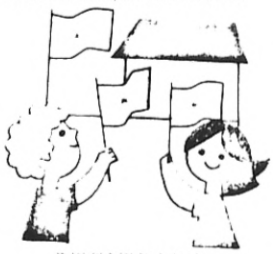
The grandmother once bought a book for her eldest 6-year-old granddaughter. *My Little Dictionary* is in Hebrew, Arabic and English. Many people of goodwill have joined in the compilation and publishing of *My Little Dictionary - 500 Words in Pictures.*

"My Little Dictionary"
Jewish Values for Arab Kids

Not only have the individuals involved had goodwill, but the institutions involved in the project are very respected: the Centre for Educational Technology at Tel Aviv University; the Department for Arab Educational Development near Haifa University; and the Department for Arab Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture.

On the surface, at first glance, the book seems to be an innocent publication for children whose parents speak one of the three languages. But it is not. It is a book intended to teach Hebrew to Arab children. Further, the method used in the book incorporates the teaching of what are called here "Jewish values". By the way, it also technically teaches English, without presenting "English values". But this is a by-product.

On the whole of page three is the subject of "Jewish Holidays." This includes Jewish religious feasts and Israeli 'Independence Day'. Strangely enough, this is methodological illogicality. If 'Independence Day' is a Jewish holiday, it should not be celebrated by people of other denominations; if the Arabs are equal citizens, then it is not a Jewish holiday. Or is this a subconscious indication that independence is only meant for Jews in Israel, not for all citizens?



INDEPENDENCE DAY
יום - העצמאות
عيد الاستقلال

Other pages are dedicated to "The Holy Sabbath," then "The Hebrew Calendar." The Hebrew calendar runs according to the lunar cycle, like the Muslims', but the names are different. For some historical reason, the names of the Hebrew calendar are used in Arabic for the Gregorian (Christian) calendar which nowadays is the universal one. Therefore, the transliteration of these names for the Hebrew calendar is a source of conceptual confusion for the kids who are supposed to learn from this book. The illustrations for the months show again the Jewish holidays characteristic to each of them.

This is fine, as when one learns a language one should also learn the atmosphere in which it is used.

The other 36 pages are dedicated to various matters and aspects of human life — nature, technology and a judge with the Israel state emblem, who represents the authorities.

The whole of the last page is, generously enough, dedicated to four "Other Religions," these actually being the ones that the potential users of the book would relate to personally. The secular way of life is not described in the book. Learning about other cultures should not deprive students of the ability to express themselves about their own.

On some of the pages there are inconsistencies in translation. Forced Arabic authenticities rather than common modern terms are used in some cases and in others the unusual modern terms replace Arabic words which have common currency - the Hebrew word *tanur* in place of *furn* for oven, for example. This should be blamed on the only Arab member of the team which produced the dictionary.

The book was composed and edited by rational people; these inconsistencies and distortions didn't appear by accident. The philosophy behind this book is clear: one must learn Hebrew and Jewish customs in order to live with the Jewish people. "The subjects and the pictures were chosen on the basis of educational concepts and present children with different subjects which concern them; thus they have the opportunity to meet, in a close and intimate way, the world around them which is

التوراة
תורה
TORAH SCROLL

resembled here by word," reads the introduction.

This is so obvious and justifiable, however, one should always remember that the Jewish religion is a separatist and unique one — generous enough to grant a little space to others, in "perspective" and "proportion." But in no way as an equal. After all, Arabs are a "minority." The result will be that Arab children going through the Israeli educational system will not know how to express themselves about themselves. Their culture will be quasi- or pseudo-Jewish, without their belonging to Jewish society or even the Israeli one; something similar happened to non-European Jews brought to Palestine by the Zionists. They lost most of their culture, tried to assimilate into the dominating European one, but failed and/or were rejected.

There are already products of this system walking among us. Due to educational and economic circumstances, they think in Hebrew instead of in their mother-tongue, Arabic. Some are aware of this and some aren't.

We must bear in mind that *My Little Dictionary* is an official educational book for very young children. It is more proof that high technology and "progress" do not necessarily bring an improvement in human relationships and living conditions. They, rather, provide more effective tools for further domination. Education, both on the "rational" (brain-washing) and emotional levels, is one of the strongest tools of Zionism, internally among the Israeli Jewish population and among people with a Judaistic (religious Jewish) background. This example of *My Little Dictionary* is another attempt to adapt the Palestinian Arab population under Israeli Jewish domination to Zionist values, standards of thinking and relationships, without adopting them. The term "equality" does not appear in their vocabulary.

With a smile
- Thoma.

One-Way Return

Rafiq Nammari, a Jerusalem resident, sent the following letter in 1969. Until this date he has not been granted permission to return.

To the Office of the Prime Minister of Israel,
Israeli Knesset
re: The law declaring the right of Jews to live in Hebron

Following the discussion which took place in the Knesset, the decision of the cabinet in regard to the return of Jews to live in the various neighbourhoods in the old city of Hebron and surrounding the Ibrahimi Mosque, was based on — as usual — an alleged right, and despite how this right is verified, not one Jewish resident who used to live in Hebron has any document to prove his ownership of the house he was living in. All the houses in Hebron belong to the Muslim Hebron residents; the Jews were renting their houses, no more than that.

And if a tenant who was living for a number of years in a rented home has a right to return to his rented home, then it is much more important and right for the owner himself to return.

Based on this, and in order for justice to take its due course, and keeping in mind that justice is not only for one group and not another, I the undersigned, Rafiq Abdel Raouf Nammari, the mukhtar of the Baka'a neighbourhood and the Nammari family in Jerusalem, request on my behalf and on the behalf of my family who own a large residential neighbourhood (Hart al-Nammari) in the Beka'a district of Jerusalem, as well as the family property in the Sharafeh quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem and hundreds of dunums of agricultural land in the destroyed villages of Yalo, Umwas, and Latrun, do present this request asking that I be treated on an equal basis with the (renting) Jews and be granted the right to live and use our properties and land mentioned above.

Since the discussion is about a "right" and since the right is above all, I hope that the right would be extended to Arab owners in Jerusalem and other places.

. . . . . .

When 'Davar' Interferes

To the Editor:

First I should belatedly thank you for printing an article I wrote on "When Does America Interfere? American Involvement — When and How" in the June 24, 1983 edition of your weekly paper. Since then it has just come to my attention here in Holland that that article was taken by a reporter from the Israeli paper *Davar* and rewritten and printed in its July 5, 1983 edition. There was no mention that the reporter's source was your paper, *Al Fajr*, and I state here openly that I was never interviewed by this reporter from *Davar*.

I am investigating through sources in Israel whether or not we have a case against this reporter -- who also invented facts that are incorrect. I ask also your consideration in this matter. But at least a point should be made to the general reading public that such incidents occur and continue to serve the state's interests of confusing the public's mind and advancing their own ideology without any regard to truth or intention of the source they draw material from.

I can only suggest that if you have space in an issue of your paper, perhaps you could print this letter with the *Davar* article and my original article side by side, to inform the readership that such journalistic perversion occurs in Israel. I only hope that the military censor would agree. I thank you again for having printed my article, and I will be partner to any action to expose these deceptions to the general public.

Yours in Peace and Service,
Sid Bachrach

Editor's note: We regret that due to lack of space, we are unable to follow Mr. Bachrach's suggestion to reprint his article and the subsequent Davar article.

TERROR IN SOUTH LEBANON

The following interview was conducted by Al Ittihad *with an American journalist who has just returned from a visit to the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. The journalist prefers to remain anonymous.*

Q: As an American, did you find it difficult staying with or helping the Palestinians in Lebanon?

A: Actually, people showing sympathy for Palestinians have been persecuted and obstacles have been put in their way. Because I am American, they don't dare expel me openly and directly but they can refuse to renew the visa and in this way they achieve their ends.

Generally, there are many difficulties and obstacles put in the way of the international organisations which try to enter the refugee camps. The official Lebanese authorities and Phalangist forces work on neutralising the movement of these organisations or the individuals who volunteer to help the refugees. In order to ensure one's stay, one has to keep silent, as far as possible, and reduce activities to a minimum. And if you do this, your stay there will be meaningless.

The Phalangists are cowards and just for this reason very dangerous. If you show your sympathy for the Palestinians, you have to be cautious of them.

Q: Under what conditions do the Palestinians in Beirut and the neighbouring camps live?

A: This cannot be described in words. In complete neighbourhoods and areas, you won't see a single man. All of the men were either martyred, arrested or are still in the ranks of the Palestinian forces. Many women and girls cry continuously. Hundreds of children were born after their fathers were martyred or arrested by invading Israeli forces or the Phalangists and the Lebanese army. The condition of these children is very bad and there is almost no medical or health care. In this situation, these children became the centre of attention for their mothers.

There is a 65-year-old man in Beirut who is always seen walking around. He is not aware of what is going on around him. He has lost 25 members of his family.

The Palestinians (women, children and the elderly) live in continual horror and there are many reasons for fear. For example, the Lebanese army daily enters Acre Hospital in a provocative and terrorising way and obstructs work. They try to prevent any project which helps Palestinians. Some international organisations tried to set up a mother and child care centre. It was not possible.

In Sabra and Shatila camp, a physiotherapy project was started but the Lebanese authorities stopped it.

Q: Did you talk to the officials? What do they say about what is going on?

A: I learned from a reliable official Lebanese source that the head of the Phalange forces' intelligence department issued orders to his men to be merciless towards the Palestinians. He ordered his men to disobey him if he ever demanded the opposite. They even see Palestinian children as their enemy.

I also talked to officials in the American embassy about the subject. Their explanation was as follows: the Lebanese are generous and they hosted the Palestinians, but the Palestinians misused this hospitality. Therefore, the door was closed in their face. This is the explanation of the American embassy and it claims that it cannot do anything in this regard.

Q: Let us go back to the Palestinian arrestees with the Lebanese army. Is their number known and does anybody care about finding out about their fate?

A: Their number is estimated at 2000, but I believe that the number is much bigger. The fate of most of them is unknown. The Red Cross tried several times to learn of their conditions, but received no reply.

Q: What do you think can be done for them besides the efforts which are made on the international level?

A: I believe that it is very important that the world know what is happening. Telling the Lebanese authorities and the Phalangists amd whoever has an authority over them that the world cares about what is happening to the Palestinians in Beirut and its surroundings will be very helpful.

Q: Do you have information about the Palestinians in South Lebanon?

A: I don't have much, but I know that thousands of Palestinians who fled from the south because of the Israeli invasion wish to return to their property in Tyre and Sidon. But they fear arrest by the Israelis. Needless to say, they fear the possibility that their property has been destroyed by the Israelis. (Translation: Al Ittihad, August 22, 1983)

ON THE WEST BANK

New Jewish Agenda

by Daoud Kuttab

A delegation of 33 Jewish American activists from the New Jewish Agenda visited the area August 2-18 and met with Palestinians and Israelis in an attempt to "explore the prospects for peace in the Middle East," as their press release upon arrival said. According to Rabbi Gerald Serotta, former co-chairman of the New York-based organisation, the NJA is one "of the very few American Jewish groups that departs significantly from the tendency to automatically support all the policies of the Israeli government."

About Agenda

New Jewish Agenda, according to the organisation's literature, was founded in 1980 as a multi-issue organisation committed to being "a progressive voice in the Jewish community and a Jewish voice in the progressive community." The Agenda's platform calls for a united Jewish effort to stop conservatism in the American and Israeli Jewish communities. The organisation adopted a national platform on November 28, 1982 in which it concerned itself with issues like nuclear disarmament, economic justice, affirmative action, feminism, racism and anti-semitism. On the Middle East, the Agenda supports Israel's survival and well-being and calls for compromise between Israeli and Palestinian people through negotiations, according to the organisation's literature. New Jewish Agenda has chapters in 35 American cities and a national membership of 3000. Professor Gordon Fellman of the Sociology Department at Brandeis University and the co-chairman of the organisation's national Middle East Task Force and liaison with the Israeli peace groups, told *Al Fajr* that during their tour, delegates met with Peace Now, the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, *Yesh Gvul* and other Israelis, including representatives from the right wing Gush Emunim settlers. Some of the Israelis the group heard from were Meron Benvenisti, Amnon Kapeliuk, Shulamit Aloni and A.B. Yeshou. Among the Palestinians the group formally met were Bir Zeit University faculty, *Al Fajr* (English) editor Sama'an Khoury, Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij and Ramallah attorney Jonathan Kuttab. The Agenda group also visited the Karmel town of Isifya with a majority Druze population and met with Israeli TV reporter Rafiq Halabi.

Barbara Breitman talked about the aims and hopes of the organisation in the US: "We want the Jewish community in America to be more democratic so that it can represent a wider variety of people including women, the working class and Jews who do not share automatic support for the state of Israel." Breitman spoke about how the critical and progressive nature of the Jewish community in the 30s, 40s and 50s in the US has diminished."We want to return to those days," she said.

Breitman, who is very much involved in work within the Jewish community, says that she noticed that most Jewish agencies have two purposes; to raise money for social services for Jews in the US and to raise money for Israel. She explained that the Jewish leadership in the US is not elected and therefore not held accountable for how funds collected are being spent.

Breitman used for an example the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organisations, headed by Alexander Shendler, which organises fund raising campaigns and spends the money according to the desires of a small group in the top of the hierarchy of the major organisations. "We would like to be able to enact something like a sunshine law which would force the major Jewish organisations to open the funding process for the Jewish community. We want to have open hearings where we can find out how and where the money is being spent and to put restrictions on the spending of funds."

Middle East Issues

The New Jewish Agenda has been active on the Middle East front. Christie Balka, from Chicago and chairwoman of the special projects committee of the National Middle East Task Force, spoke about the organisation's recent activities as regards the Middle East: "Shortly after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, we became active in conducting various forms of protest. We held demonstrations, educational classes and ran speaking tours. We conducted a national speaking tour for Dani Rubenstein (*Davar*'s correspondent in the West Bank) and issued a call for a West Bank settlement freeze." Balka explained that 50 Jewish rabbis have already signed the call for the settlement freeze. Other activists in the Agenda told *Al Fajr* that informal meetings with Palestinians living in the US have taken place in Philadelphia, Boston and San Francisco.

Barbara Breitman said one activity was a *seder* (passover meal) celebration 'for the children of Abraham' during which passages of Palestinian and Jewish literature were read to a Jewish and Arab audience of 150 in Philadelphia. Commenting on the delegation's impressions of the local scene, Gordon Fellman noted that the tour and meetings with people from all sides "made us realise the complexity and depth of the issues involved. The group felt that Israelis look at Arabs and see in them the European oppressors of the past, while the Palestinians look at Israelis and see in them Europeans as oppressive colonialists. It is hard when two people have suffered to be able to move towards mutual recognition," he said.

Fellman said that differences of opinion occurred between the Agenda and an Israeli group that was entrusted with organising the tour: "They were afraid that if we met Palestinians we would lose our sympathy for the Israelis' problems." Fellman explained that the problem is "not whether we are for or against Israel or the Palestinians. We are for the national aspirations of both peoples."

"We also realise that every side wants the whole thing. So our mission is to bring understanding and to show Israelis that there are Palestinians who are willing to live next to Israel. We are also keen on raising the consciousness of American Jews to this fact," Fellman explained. The Agenda has sponsored in the past speaking tours for Bir Zeit professor Salim Tamari and Israeli peace activist Dr Avi Oz as well as an East Coast tour of Dr Munir Fashe, former dean of students at Bir Zeit, and *New Outlook* editor Simha Flapan. He told *Al Fajr* that Agenda has plans for touring a Palestinian and an Israeli throughout the US this winter.

Activists in the Jewish group told *Al Fajr* that they have access to the American Jewish press. They explained that not enough coverage of legal issues and the daily life of Palestinians in the occupied territories is covered there. Members of the visiting delegation are planning to write and do radio programmes about what they saw.

At the conclusion of the talk with *Al Fajr*, Fellman said that he was deeply impressed with the fact that many Israelis underestimate their own society's defence capabilities. "They are worried that the whole thing would collapse if one mistake were committed — even liberals often feel more vulnerable than is objectively warranted."

THE RAMALLAH TRIALS

by Samir Abu Shakrah

Heavy prison sentences were imposed on eight more students from Bir Zeit University for their participation in the protest demonstration there, July 27 — one day after the attack on Hebron University in which three students died and 37 were wounded.

The military court in Ramallah, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Amnon Stratshov (ex-military prosecutor in the Lydda-Ramle district), in its August 7 session imposed prison sentences of 18 months to two years on students. It should be noted that the army arrested 26 students on July 27. Nadim Hamadi from al-Am'ari refugee camp and Naim Said from Jenin were sentenced to one and a half years in prison, August 2. Fourteen students were tried in the August 7 session and the remaining ten will be charged on August 31.

At 9:00 am, family members, friends and European visitors arrived at the military building in Ramallah.

The huge crowd had to wait long hours on the hot August day. The trial did not begin until 12:30 pm, with no reason given for the delay.

I Knew About His Arrest from the TV

Many parents had to wait at the entrance to the military compound. One middle-aged woman who asked to sit under a tree was told by a tough soldier that she should "disappear."

She told me the following: "My name is Iman Sarag. I am from Gaza. My son Mohammad studies Middle Eastern Studies at Bir Zeit. He was studying in summer school in order to complete courses from last year which he was unable to finish because of the closure of the university. One day after the massacre in Hebron, I heard that the army had arrested a number of students, but I didn't know that Mohammad was among them.

"On Wednesday (July 27), I watched TV and saw my son, and it was also via TV that I learned that the trial would start on August 2. On that day I arrived in Ramallah with my husband, but my son was not brought to trial; we came again today, hoping that he would be brought to trial now."

The mother adds: "Today I left Gaza with my husband at 6:00 am and we were told at 9:00 am that only one parent can hear the trial."

Um Mohammad waited until 7:30 pm, but luckily she left for Gaza with her son who was found not guilty due to lack of evidence, but not before he had already spent 11 days in jail.

Political Demonstrators Were Treated Like Criminals

The time was 11:30 am and the people who had been waiting for hours started losing their tempers. The military also became impatient. All of a sudden armed soldiers and a policeman ran toward Nablus Road. I followed them and discovered a group of demonstrators from the Haifa branch of the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit and a few tourists. They were holding placards denouncing the occupation and the draconic trials and shouted demands (in Hebrew, Arabic and English) for the immediate release of the students. The soldiers asked the demonstrators to disperse, and when they did not respond, the military governor of Ramallah, Colonel Moshe Kalinsky, gave an order to disperse them by force.

The soldiers, who had been awaiting the sign, attacked the demonstrators and each one was dragged to the military building.

I was told later that they were held in jail for a few hours and released.

I Am the Law

An ABC TV crew succeeded in getting a few shotsof the demonstration. Moshe Kalinksy — who used to be a press photographer himself — took the press card of one of the crew. When he was told by the crew member that it is illegal to confiscate his presscard, the governor told him that here *he* is the law. He declared, retroactively, that the area is a military zone in which photography is prohibited. The crew was taken to the building. The ABC office in Tel Aviv told me that the governor was found not to be "the law" and he finally had to release the crew with their film.

Illegal Identifications

The trial started at 12:30 pm and it was then decided to hear only the cases of 14 students and to postpone the remaining 10 cases until August 31. They will remain in jail.

The prosecution called two witnesses who were asked to identify students accused of throwing stones. In his testimony, soldier Morris Algarbali claimed that he remembered seven of the students very well. He claimed that he first identified them at a roadblock and later in the military court building. But when he was asked by Attorney Lea Tsemal if he knew the students' names, he claimed that he remembered them, but that no record was kept after the first identification.

The second witness, Lieutenant Sagev, claimed that he also remembered the students who threw stones and when they were stopped at a roadblock a few hours later, he succeeded in identifying them.

Attorney Lea Tsemal explained the illegality of the identification procedures, saying that only suspects were present in the military court hall and that legal procedures demand that other people who look similar to the suspects should be brought in and that legal records should be kept. In this case, no such thing was done. She told the court that one officer entered the identification hall, called names of the students, asked them to stand and later the person who was supposed to identify them arrived and the first officer helped him to do so.

The judge admitted that the procedures were "not perfect," but said he preferred to believe the soldiers' testimony, and it was on this testimony that he based his verdict against eight students. In handing down the verdict he said: "The background of the demonstration is the disgusting murder at the Islamic (Hebron) University, which occurred one day earlier, but it is not permitted to correct one injustice with another. And the residents of the area should not express their disapproval by violence. And because previous punishments for such acts have not achieved their purpose... and the court is obliged to protect the security of the area... even if this punishment is irregular and heavy, I see no choice but to give the same punishment (he had given five days earlier — ed.) in order to preserve the rule of consistency of punishment."

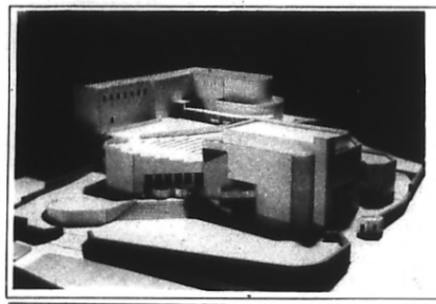
Bir Zeit students at the Ramallah military court

The rationale of the judge was a strange one, and attorney Na'amneh asked in his summary remarks: "Where are the security forces who pretend to protect the residents of the area when Kiryat Arba residents and other settlers do whatever they want in the occupied territories?" And he warned the court: "If you punish in such a severe way, you will achieve the opposite of your intended results. The court should not think that by this they will stop the phenomenon of stone-throwing. The real source of this phenomenon is the existence of the armed settler militias who will continue their violence in the occupied territories where there is no judge and no justice to stop them."

When the verdict of one-and-a-half years imprisonment was announced against Yusef Nasser, Sabri Ismael, Hashem Deeb, Costa Sabih, Mahmoud Majdobiya, Lutfi Roshdi, Mahmoud Daud, and two years against Majdi Darwish, the students started congratulating each other with "*Mabruk*!" (a blessing). On their way to their cells they began singing the Bir Zeit University anthem and promised all the could speak to that no punishment would break their spirit. (Excerpted from Al Fajr Hebrew, August 17, 1983)

Status of the West Bank Universities

Education Fuels Resistance



Model of Bethlehem University's multi-purpose building (left), planned to have been completed this year. Due to the denial of a permit, only the foundations and retaining wall have been built (right) /JN

by Edward Witten

Many American academics have visited the Israeli academic institutions — as I have on various occasions — but few realise that just a short distance away, in the occupied West Bank, is an academic community of substantial size. In the universities of the West Bank, there are altogether about five hundred faculty members. The West Bank universities have played a prominent role in the development of dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians. They have also been involved in a considerable number of human rights controversies. Any visiter to the West Bank universities will meet a sizeable number of very impressive, moderate people who are working patiently, under conditions that are not always easy, for modest goals. The motivation for writing this report is a belief that a better understanding of these issues is in the interests of everyone who cares about the future of Israel, the Palestinians and peace.

Background

At the outset, it must be said that the West Bank university system has developed almost entirely under Israeli occupation, in the years since 1967. This undoubtedly is one of the more praiseworthy aspects of the relatively liberal Israeli occupation policy in the early years after 1967, and Israelis can be proud of it. The West Bank universities have not received subsidies from the Israeli government (and do not wish to, preferring to be independent), nor do they enjoy any tax exemption. However, until recently they have been allowed relative freedom to bring in money from the Arab world — both private contributions and funds from Arab governments. Visiting the West Bank universities is in one respect rather like visiting an Israeli university. At Bir Zeit University, for example, one may see the new engineering school, built with a single six million dollar contribution from a Palestinian millionaire in Saudi Arabia.

Ironically, the West Bank university system probably developed only *because* of the Israeli occupation. On the one hand, confronting the modern Israeli system and perhaps admiring the qualities that are responsible for Israel's internal strength, the Palestinians have been motivated to develop a more modern system of their own. On the other hand, the Israeli occupation has created new difficulties, which will be detailed later, for Arabs from the West Bank who would wish to study abroad, and this has certainly increased the importance for the West Bank population of developing a local university system.

The West Bank universities have also come to play an important role in terms of creating opportunities for young people and enabling them to stay in the country.

At this point, there is in the West bank one of the more well developed university systems in the Arab world. The occupied territories have a total population of nearly one and a half million people, of whom about two thirds live in the West Bank. In the West Bank, there are about 30,000 high school graduates each year. Of these, about eight to ten thousand might be strong candidates for college admission. Because of the significant expansion of the last ten years, there are places in the West Bank universities for about 2500 entering freshmen each year. As these statistics would suggest, the competition for admission is stiff; Bethlehem and Najah Universities accept about one out of every four or five applicants.

Bir Zeit University, located near Ramallah, is perhaps the best known academic institution in the West Bank. Until about ten years ago, Bir Zeit was a two year junior college; the students used to commonly finish the B.A. degree at the American University in Beirut. Bir Zeit is now a four year institution with about 2000 B.A. students. It also grants an M.A. degree in education. English is the main language of instruction in the sciences. Najah University in Nablus was a two year teacher training institute until 1977. It now is a B.A.-granting, four year institution with 3000 students, three times as many as in 1977. Bethlehem University was a high school at the time of the 1967 war. A large number of the students at Bethlehem University major in business or education. Bethlehem University has close ties to the Vatican. There are also some smaller institutions: Hebron University, and a nursing school, the Arab College of Medical Professions.

According to David Mize, an American who works through AMIDEAST: "We very definitely have a sense that the proportion of good students who stay here to get their education in the West Bank has increased. Nothing succeeds like success, and the population here has definitely seen that the quality of education in the West Bank universities has increased." (AMIDEAST is a private organisation through which the US government channels some funds for graduate scholarships for West Bank students who may become future faculty members at the universities. The US government has an annual budget of about six million dollars for development projects such as this in the occupied territories.)

Significance of the West Bank Universities

There is no need to comment on the importance of education generally; education is as important for the Palestinian as for anyone else. However, it is appropriate to discuss the special significance of the existence of a local university system in the West Bank. First, let us discuss some factors that have nothing to do with the Israeli occupation.

For financial reasons alone, many of the West Bank students could not go abroad to study. One faculty member at Najah University estimated that roughly half their students could not afford to study abroad. Another factor involves the status of women. At the West Bank universities, nearly half of the students are women — a figure that is exceptional in the Arab world. By contrast, perhaps only five or ten percent of the West Bank students who go to study abroad are women. Many West Bank parents would not permit their daughters to go to college if this required traveling abroad. As this last factor illustrates, the West Bank society is a very conservative society that badly needs the catalyst for social change provided by the universities.

In addition, there are factors specifically associated with the Israeli occupation that make it difficult for people to study abroad. To understand this, one must understand the legal status of the Palestinians in the occupied territories. After the war of June, 1967, identification cards were issued to the Palestinians — civilian identification cards in East Jerusalem and military identification cards in the West Bank and Gaza. The West Bank identity card confers a right of permanent residency, rather similar to the rights conferred by an American green card. Like an American green card, the West Bank identity card can be lost (but is not always lost) if one is out of the country for more than 12 months. So a Palestinian who leaves the West Bank for more than 12 months will under many circumstances not be permitted to return. (Also, men under the age of twenty-six are usually not permitted to leave the West Bank for less than six months.) The West Bank identity card differs from the American green card in that it is given to people who are natives of the place where they are living and it never evolves into the right of applying for citizenship. Many of the human rights issues in the West Bank stem from the fact that in June, 1967, the legal status of residents of the West Bank changed — in effect — from that of citizens to that of green card holders.

The West Bank identity cards were issued in the summer of 1967 to Palestinians who were physically present. Residents of the West Bank who were gone for any reason when the war broke out — even if they were simply studying abroad — did not receive the cards and in most cases have not been able to return to the West Bank, except on tourist visas, since 1967. (It is possible to apply for permission to return on the basis of family unification, but such permission has frequently been denied.)

Perhaps 10-15 percent of the students in the West Bank have been arrested at one time or another, and for them it is frequently difficult to obtain permission to travel abroad

West Bank Palestinians who study abroad in the Arab world — especially in the radical Arab countries — run a risk of not being allowed to return. Nor, for that matter, are Palestinian students always welcome in Arab countries, as one might expect.

There is another aspect to the importance of the West Bank universities which should be of particular concern to Americans. A view often heard is that if there is eventually to be peace in the area, there must be educated Israelis and Palestinians who can deal with each other as equals. The Vice-Chancellor of Bethlehem University, an American named Thomas Scanlon, says: "We hope that education can be a force for peace and conciliation. Twenty years ago you didn't hear this talk about mutual recognition" of the rights of the two peoples. "The welfare of the Palestinians will be improved by education," he continues, "and I believe education can be a positive force for peace for everyone. We are producing leaders who I hope will help these people and bring about reconciliation and perhaps understand Israel's point of view." If there is such a thing as a constructive and non-violent activity which can lay the groundworks for a peaceful Palestinian homeland whose emergence need not be threatening to Israel, it is the develpment of institutions of higher education.

Current Problems

It is for all these reasons praiseworthy that in the early years of the occupation, the Israeli government adopted a relatively liberal policy towards the Palestinian universities and permitted a Palestinian university system to develop under military occupation. Unfortunately, in the last few years, there seem to have been significant changes in the Israeli policy towards the West Bank universities — changes that perhaps are reflections of a broader change in political outlook.

Since 1979 there have been repeated closures of the West Bank universities. Bir Zeit University lost six months of the 1981-2 academic year because of shutdowns by the Israeli government. (However, the university has so far functioned on an almost normal schedule in the 1982-3 academic year.) Less widely reported than the official closures of Bir Zeit University have been the unofficial closures of Najah and Bethlehem Universities. Though not officially closed, these institutions have — repeatedly — been blockaded, the students and faculty prevented from coming to classes. Many months of study have been lost in this way at these institutions, in the current academic year and the last one. For instance, according to the Israeli daily *Davar* of January 23: "The al-Najah University in Nablus has been shut down for two weeks by security force roadblocks which prevent lecturers and students from entering the premises...The events at al-Najah began when students, at the beginning of the month, organised a series of activities to mark the 18th anniversary of the founding of Fatah. The military government did not prevent the activities which took place within the university, but afterwards placed restrictions on the university, the main one being roadblocks that in effect prevented the studies from taking place. Every day the entrance to al-Najah is blocked until noon and checks are made which prevent many from entering the university."

The West Bank universities have in the last several years begun to have difficulty obtaining permission to bring into the country funds from outside sources — largely from the Arab world. This is potentially a critical issue because these institutions fulfill roughly the role of public institutions, with comparatively low tuition. Since — pending a resolution of the broader political problems — they are not in a position to raise tax monies, they still rely on outside sources of income for operating expenses, let alone expansion.

Another problem concerns building permits. Bir Zeit University has built in the last six or seven years a modern, new campus, considerably larger than the old one. Najah University has analogous plans for construction of a new campus. In fact, the land has been bought, the money line up and the architectural plans ready for more than two and a half years. In these two and a half years, however, they have not been able to obtain a building permit for construction. At one time, construction was begun without a permit. The workers and contractors were arrested; they were released, but construction work was not allowed. Since 1981, Bethlehem University has also been denied a permit for a new building that is planned to house a cafeteria, physical education facilities, an auditorium, a garage and the office of the dean of students. Funds for this project were provided by the Dutch and Swiss governments.

Dr. Witten is a professor of physics at Princeton University in the US. He visited the West Bank universities in December of 1982 at the invitation of the Council of Higher Education.

REVERSIBILITY: Practical or Impractical?

by Zvi Barel

We were very pleased when the Americans said that the discussion of the elimination of the settlements is not practical any more. Two days after the statement, by the State Department spokesman, American officials took the trouble to explain that this did not mean a change in policy, but that it was a "statement of a new type." He spoke as if policy is one thing and statements are something else, and that they bear no relation to each other.

This statement was first received with joy in Israel, as if it was about a bridegroom who had just received the assent of the bride-to-be's parent.

We can only imagine what Israel's response would be if the US declared that the elimination of settlements is practical. A big noise would erupt. Ministers, and in particular the guiding triumverate, would wave fists in the face on the US's vicious trampling on "Israeli territories."

But the essence of the subject is not, as is understood, the assessment of the US in regard to the practicality or lack of it — in setting up settlements or evacuating them. Israel has never showed excessive consideration for American assessments: when they were "positive", Israel received them as if it was a natural thing; and when they were "negative", they were rejected under the slogan of "intervention in the internal affairs of Israel."

The question, first of all, is if it is possible to use the expression "practical" or "impractical" vis-a-vis settlements. And if it is "impractical" today, will it continue this way for generations?

On this point, we can raise two examples. In 1981 the chief inspector of settlements for Baron de Rothschild, Eliahu Shid, said, about the establishment of Hadera town: "I tried to prevent Hadera settlers from buying up the swamps. They were enthusiastic about the idea. It was not possible to argue with them. I asked one of their leaders to drop the idea. He answered: 'What's the importance of the swamps? I can drain them for FF30,000. I am an expert in the subject.' 'OK,' I said, 'drain them before you bring families here.'

"The people took my word for it and didn't do anything. The first settlers who had come to live in the area died like flies. If the baron had not listened to my advice and calculations (and agreed to drain the swamps), the settlers would have been forced to give up this malaria nest."

Facts win over logic even if both look the same. The settling of Hadera, at that time, fell within the definition "impractical." I have no doubt in my heart that if the State Department expressed an opinion then, it would have concluded that the subject was not practical. But the results stand on the ground and the impractical became very practical.

Another example: Yamit. On the issue of building and evacuating it, it appears that there is nothing to add. From the day the first house was built until a short time before its evacuation, the idea of removing it was impractical, even at the time when Gush Emunim people were recruited to defend the town with their bodies. Despite this, the impractical became practical.

Support for the (idea of the practicality of removing settlements), which the State Department spokesman defines as impratical, is found in what Joel Ben Non, a prominent member of Gush Emunim, wrote in the Israeli settlement magazine *Nekuda* a year after the elimination of Yamit: "Apparently, the insistence on 'there will be no withdrawal' helped people to remain and continue building. Maybe without the slogan no one would have gone to the Strip (which was going to be handed over to Egypt) and built there. Maybe the other slogans would not have been enough to create a movement. But the denial of reality also engendered illusions — and these led to despair and disappointment. Therefore I decided to work according to the philosophy of Yu'av Ben Tzruya, the disciple of David: 'Be firm and we will support our people and the towns of our God.' This should be done with a clear mind in a way that does not weaken belief, and with a belief that will not weaken resolve."

The determination, or the practicality and impracticality of the demand to eliminate the settlements, lies, first of all, in the facts on the ground and in the "quantitative" reality which is produced. Here it is not possible to ignore the burgeoning construction which has taken place in the past five years. Dozens of settlements have been established, kilometres of roads opened, scores of prefabricated houses planted – and the door is still open. But this thrust cannot resolve the question of the practicality of the elimination of settlements. The question begins to be relevant from the moment when the same houses and areas are populated, and here again it is the quantity which decides political facts. Five thousand settlers are not the same as 50,000 in the same area.

The Practicality Block

According to the latest data, 30,000 Israeli settlers live today in the West Bank. They are 5000 families. More than half of them settled in the West Bank for socio-economic and not for ideological reasons. So under certain political conditions, if necessity requires it, these families will be ready to accept alternative suitable housing outside the West Bank.

Most of the families do not earn their living in these areas but inside the 'Green Line'. Only a very small percentage of them invested money or bought apartments and/or land in the West Bank. The revolution in the process of settlement and the transition from settlements whose bases are ideological, like those of Gush Emunim, to "normal" settlements of people looking for cheap villas, will contribute to the decision regarding the practicality of evacuation.

People say that the economic integration between the West Bank and Israel is important. An economic survey undertaken by Dr Efraim Ahiram from Tel Aviv University indicates that it would be possible to disconnect this economic link in stages.

The question is, if this is true, what "quantity" of political facts is required in order to say: "From this moment the evacuation is no longer practical." Are the 5000 families enough for this? Do 1000 kilometres of road and 12,000 houses (only half of which are inhabited) constitute the limit of practicality? Or do the grand plans for the settlement of the West Bank — which have not been implemented — and the possession of large tracts of land create the irreversible political fact?

Dr Arthur Ruppin concluded in a memorandum in 1907 that as long as the Jews were a small minority of 70,000, within a population of 700,000, they did not have the possibility to receive autonomy from the Turkish rulers. Namely, according to him, a ratio of 1 to 10 does not constitute the basis for a solid political fact. The ratio in the West Bank today is almost 1 to 25, and yet, despite all this, there are diligent people who have decided that this is enough to determine an unquestionable political fact.

I deliberately do not raise here the matters of belief, history and religious links with the territories because if these are the politically decisive elements, the American State Department spokesman would have made his decision in 1968. On the other hand, when the question of evacuating the settlements or delaying them is based on facts and figures, it appears to me that we have not reached the stage at which it is reversible. The only advantage which can be drawn from the American statement is that now, after the "doubtful recognition" of the settlements, there will be no need to view them as a national front, and the energy used to create these political facts should be diverted to more important national purposes. (Translation: HaAretz, August 22, 1983).

THE RUKAB MAN: A COOL CUSTOMER

by Said al-Ghazali

"*Rukab, rukab, rukab, rukab, rukaaab, rukaaaab, booza zakieh* — delicious ice cream!"

Residents of Wadi Joz quarter are familiar with the harmonious sound of Abu Mohammad, a strolling vendor of ice cream who walks four kilometres daily making the rounds to his customers.

Abu Mohammad's route passes by *Al Fajr*'s offices every day; the staff can hear his strong baritone song from 100 metres away. "Everybody likes Abu Mohammad's Rukabs," a regular client told Abu Mohammad as he squeezed his ice cream barrels into the narrow door of the newspaper's office. On a hot summer day Abu Mohammad, Ibrahim Isma'il Talal, 31, is one of eight ice cream sellers in East Jerusalem who prefers selling ice cream rather than working in Israeli factories.

Abu Mohammad says that he is in the job for many reasons: . . . . . "Secondly, it is the profession of my father and, thirdly, I like this work because I earn JD300 per month," Abu Mohammad said proudly. He expects this year to win a JD100 prize for being the top Rukab salesman in the West Bank, as he has been for the past four years. He has been in the business for the Ramallah-based factory for 20 years, since he was an 11-year-old Jerusalem kid.

Last year he sold IS1,000,000 of ice cream in East Jerusalem in the six warm months. Abu Mohammad told *Al Fajr*: "My clients, students and families like to buy ice cream from me every day. I am honest and I don't charge high prices." Abu Mohammad comes early every day from his family home in Hebron and packs his metal barrels with 300 to 500 ice creams. He sells five kinds: sandwiches, milk ice cream, chocolate-covered, lemon and orange. It is Palestinian ice cream, made from dried milk, salep, Arabic gum and flavourings.

"I once sold 1000 ice creams when Goodman shot Palestinians at al-Aqsa Mosque. The misfortunes of some people are fortunes for others," he commented sarcastically.

Over 15,000 sticks, cups and sandwiches are distributed daily in warm months in six towns in the West Bank, Jerusalem, Ramallah, al-Bireh, Nablus, Beit Jala and Gaza. In Hebron, in 1966, an agent attempted to distribute Rukab ice cream but he failed "because," Abu Mohammad says, "Hebronites do not like to spend money in buying unnecessary things such as ice cream."

Abu Mohammad lives with his four married brothers in a family house in Rameh, Hebron district. From April to October he works as an ice cream seller and, in the winter months, as a construction worker. Abu Mohammad and his brothers give all their earnings to their mother who saves for pilgrimages to Mecca for the elderly members of the family, for marriages of the young ones and for additional construction of their house.

PALESTINE AND LITERATURE

THE DAWN COMES TWICE

by Hassan Abu Libdeh

The square was crowded with students and the burning tyres turned the sky black. Stones were scattered everywhere. Shots were heard constantly and tear gas bombs fell all over the place. Military vehicles patrolled the streets at crazy speeds and then stopped suddenly near the square. More soldiers surrounded the campus. The voice came through the loudspeaker announcing "curfew" and that the soldiers would shoot anybody seen on the streets in five minutes' time.

The students were in complete panic and ran in all directions. Some tried to creep onto the campus while others headed for the mountains. Very few students got home, and as for Ghada, she found herself accompanying Rashad to his nearby apartment. The soldiers almost killed her when she tried to get into the women's dorm.

"A nice day, isn't it?" Rashad murmured. She went to the bathroom; he could hear her clearly.

"But I never thought that they'd trap the students that way."

"They'll all be released." He went to the kitchen to prepare tea.

After a good warm shower, Ghada came to the sitting room. She was struck by the various paintings on the wall which seemed to be in strange harmony. She concentrated on one particular painting.

"The tea!" he said, and sat opposite her. She trembled and almost dropped her tea on the floor. She could hardly contain herself, but after a while she looked stealthily at everything in the sitting room. She stared at Rashad's face and started.

"It's strange though. You're here all alone!"

"It seems so!"

"But you said you had a roommate!"

"Oh, yes." He drank his tea carelessly.

"But where is he? I haven't seen him since we arrived."

"I don't know...He might be at the university. Why?"

"Oh, nothing."

She held the cup of tea in her trembling hand. When she was no longer able to control her nerves, she put it aside. She tried to show him that she was busy looking at the paintings. She kept looking at her watch, drank her tea nervously and crossed her legs as tightly as possible.

Rashad drew near, carrying a pile of pictures and said, "Did you go to Safad?"

"Get away or I'll scream."

The pictures fell. He blushed and stared at her. He went back to his seat wearily and asked, "What happened? Are you terribly scared?"

"No. I'm just nervous, nervous and troubled. When will everything be over?"

"I really don't know. Do you want to go back to the dorm?"

"Can I?"

"You can try!"

She left her seat and went to the door, opened it a little and looked outside. Three soldiers stood only a few metres away from the main gate. She slammed the door and went back to her seat.

"What am I to do now?" she wondered. "What is Rashad going to do next? Could he be like the others? He'll certainly take his chances. I don't think that he's that bad. Oh, God! What are the other girls going to say? But who's going to tell them? Rashad might. But anyway, he might be as noble as he appears."

When she opened her eyes, she found him completely absorbed in a magazine. She interrupted him. "Rashad, we've treated each other as brother and sister...we'll continue that way during the siege."

"You are crazy," he shouted. "What do you think of yourself? Do you believe that everybody thinks the same way you do? You are a university student, we are under siege now. Your fears exceed all reason. Please be sure that nothing will happen even if you lay naked in front of me."

She cried, "I'm sorry, but even though I've read a few dozen books I can't forget that what's really happening is that a set of traditional values are being broken."

The sitting room sank in evening darkness. Ghada looked at the paintings and Rashad read his magazine. Now that they had been alone in the room for more than three hours, she tried to forget her fears. Rashad put on the light. She trembled when he passed near her, but felt comfortable when the light spread.

"Are you hungry?" he asked and went into the kitchen.

The soldiers could be heard clearly outside patrolling the streets. Ghada was left to her own thoughts. "He's just polite. There is no reason for me to feel so scared, but who knows what's awaiting me? I'll try to leave after supper. I can't sleep here all alone with him. If he were my husband then...is he going to make supper for me while I sit and watch TV?"

Rashad interrupted her thoughts. He offered her orange juice and patted her shoulder with the other hand. She smiled and sank back into her thoughts again. "Is he waiting for the night to deepen! His roommate won't come, and so...Oh, God! I've got to go."

She ground her teeth. Sweat seemed to seep out of her. She tightened her legs. Rashad spoke from the kitchen, "Oh, Queen of the Night, Bride of all Cities, a delicious meal awaits you!"

She rose instantly and went to the kitchen, tried to smile and ate a little. She went back to the sitting room.

"I'll try it once more."

"Try what?"

"To leave."

"Why? My apartment is good for two, especially if they are male and female. Anyway, if one of us has to leave, I'll try."

"Oh no, you don't have to put yourself out."

"That's all right."

He smoked nonchalantly and smiled broadly. She left her seat and opened the door slightly. The three soldiers were still in the same spot. One of them saw her head; she narrowly escaped the shot which went into the wall. She went back quickly, shaking with fear. Rashad stood up and closed the door gently.

"Do you feel better now?" he asked sarcastically.

She looked at him indignantly and then busied herself watching TV. By midnight there were no more programmes to be watched. She was left to fight drowsiness and control her weary body. She glanced stealthily at Rashad who was reading a book. Once in a while her legs would twitch and she would get up scared. Once in the kitchen, she took a knife and hid it carefully inside her shirt.

"Do you want anything?" he said as she came back.

"No, thanks."

She watched him turn the pages of his book carefully. She thought, "Sooner or later he'll attack. He must be working over a plan. Can he ignore the existence of a woman so near him? Could I stop him if he tried? I'll kill him. And if I scream, who's going to rescue me? The soldiers? What a crazy night it is!"

The roaring sound of an engine interrupted her. Then she heard the soldiers' shouts. The car stopped in front of the house. Rashad leapt towards the lights and put them off. Ghada felt the soldiers' steps sink deep into her heart. They drew nearer. She rose from her seat and sat near Rashad.

"Perhaps they've come to arrest us!"

"Don't worry," he whispered.

The soldiers surrounded the house. They tried the door handle and knocked fiercely. Ghada drew closer to Rashad who patted her hand for assurance. The soldiers tried to smash the door with their guns. They ordered them to open it.

Ghada buried her head inside Rashad's chest. He held her. The soldiers cursed and tried hard to smash the door. Ghada swam in pools of sweat. Rashad kissed her forehead. She shook all over. The engine started. The soldiers left. Rashad looked at her eyes and took the knife away. He patted her back and jumped to put on the lights. "Are you not sleepy, sister?"

And the sitting room exploded with light. (Translation: Al Fajr al-Adabi, Issue 34, July 1983).

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

I asked Abu Fahmi, a Palestinian, about his present condition, and he said: "I am fine, and everybody is treating us well."
FREE PRESS

Palestinian newspapers focused on a number of issues this week, mainly King Hussein's statement in which he questioned the representative character of the PLO. **Al Fajr** daily published a memorandum by a number of Palestinian personalities, all of whom reaffirmed that the PLO is the legitimate and only representative of the Palestinian people. **Al Quds** carried excerpts of King Hussein's statement.

The papers gave similar prominence to the assassination of Colonel Ma'moun Zughayar of Fatah, who was shot dead by unidentified motorcyclists in Athens. The killers are believed to be Israeli agents. Mediation efforts to solve the internal crisis within Fatah also received coverage.

On the local level, the strike by Palestinian journalists to protest the closure of **Al Shira** magazine closed **Al Fajr** and **Al Shaab** for one day, and delayed the appearance of **Al Mithaq** weekly. West Bankers' meetings with Israel's defence minister, Moshe Arens, the Nazareth work camp, and the boycott of the comprehensive exam were the most prominent local stories.

When will the Israelis Get Out ?

As Yasir Arafat was leaving Beirut last year, he turned to Shagiq Wazzan and remarked, "OK, we're leaving. When will the Israelis get out?" It's been over a year now and the Israelis are still there. And Defence Minister Arens is still flying to Beirut to inspect the areas under Israeli occupation and confer with leaders of isolationist factions. And Wazzan has no way of expressing his protest other than refusing to attend a meeting of the cabinet he heads.

Months, perhaps years, will pass before the Israelis finally leave Lebanon. Even if Israel were to complete its partial withdrawal within a few weeks or months, it will still retain control over South Lebanon, and the Israeli-Lebanese accord will still guarantee Israel supremacy in areas of Lebanon.

Those who met with Arens were the same people who welcomed the Israeli invasion, and through Amin Gemayel these people hold the ultimate key to Lebanese decisions. They are the ones who will be responsible for the dismemberment of Lebanon, the loss of its independence and Arab character and the shedding of more blood.

AL SHAAB
August 18

The Historical Joke

August 21, 1983 marks one year after the heroic Palestinian fighters evacuated Beirut.

It marks one whole year during which Begin and Reagan tried unsuccessfully to convince the world that the evacuation was a sign of their "victory", and of the "end of the war."

Begin boasted that the country would now have peace for 40 years. But people were not dancing in the streets, and *HaAretz* brazenly termed Begin's boast "an historical joke" and screamed in Sharon's face, when he claimed to have won an historic victory, that evacuation of the Palestinians was "not the beginning of the end, but the end of the beginning."

This was all clear as early as three months after the Palestinians pulled out, and it is clearer now that Israel finds itself bogged down for the second year in its longest war against the Arabs.

We foresaw all that would happen and hinted at it constantly, and we mention this fact not only to prove that we were always right, but to point out that ours was the correct attitude.

The Lebanon war is a convincing lesson to all those who place their trust in the promises of the reactionary, imperialist US government.

It is a lesson stressing the fact that there is no other way for a nation to advance its cause than to fight for it, to stand firm, close its ranks and ally itself with the friendly nations of the socialist world, with the Soviet Union at their head. It is a lesson we have paid dearly for to learn.

AL ITTIHAD
August 21

Hussein's Daydreams

The latest statements mouthed by King Hussein, and reported by US newspapers, vividly reveal the deep-seated hatred he harbours in his heart towards the Palestinian people and its legitimate representative.

Hussein's words betray his attempts to exploit the difficult situations the Palestinians are passing through in order to misrepresent the will of this people and distance them from their leaders.

The dissentions in Palestinian ranks are therefore providing him with a golden opportunity to implement his ambitious plans for the region, which became known soon after the disruption of the PLO-Jordanian dialogue when Hussein started applying pressure on Palestinian residents of the West Bank by trying to create a contender for Palestinian leadership and a rival to the PLO.

Hussein is making a fatal mistake if he thinks a simple dispute among brothers will weaken the PLO or put an end to its representation of the Palestinian people, making the Palestinians lose all they have achieved in their long struggle to assert their rights.

In the face of this challange, Palestinians must close ranks and rally round the PLO so that they can foil all the nefarious attempts aimed at dismembering the Palestinian movement.

The Palestinians in the occupied land are confident that they can withstand all dangers and foil all schemes dreamt up by Jordan, just as our determination to fight on and stay alive has helped us face up to countless other conspiracies before.

AL FAJR
August 22

Jewish Lobby Behavior

Richard Murphy's appointment as US Assistant Secretary of State for Middle East Affairs caused consternation among Washington's Jewish lobby, who feared he would adopt a pro-Arab line. This is the way the Jewish lobby behaves, despite the fact that they have every reason to rest assured that the US policy in the Middle East is heavily weighted in Israel's favor and that the US is completely indifferent to Arabs and has no consideration for their rights.

We wonder why Arab Americans remain inactive in the face of such a policy that is hostile to their native lands. The American Congress and the White House are particularly sensitive to the feelings of the ethnic Irish, Italian, Greek and Polish groups in the States and think twice before taking any action or decision likely to infringe upon the interests of their native countries. Yet, the White House and Congress have no compunctions about raising a stick over the heads of the Arabs; riding rough-shod over and intimidating them, with apparent impunity.

The reason is simple to see: the ethnic Arab groups in the US reflect the policies and leanings of the Arab nation to which each grouping feels it owes allegiance. If these Arab nations are unable to agree on a unified front, policy, or line of action, how can we expect expatriate Arabs to behave otherwise?

It is the fashion now to talk about the situation in the Sahara, Chad and Arab oil – the Palestinian question has been relegated to a secondary status, instead of claiming the whole attention of the Arab world. It has been pushed into the background, instead of occupying the centre of the stage.

Of what possible interest can it be to the Arabs if Kissinger or Haig is appointed the new US Secretary of State?

Alas, we are living in an age of indolence and lack of vitality that has gripped the whole Arab nation from the ocean to the Gulf.

AL QUDS
August 23

Crimes of the Settlers

Avraham Ahituv's (former Shin Bet head) recent remarks regarding the dangers posed by Jewish settlments in the West Bank have raised a storm of protest among settler circles and he has been subjected to a veritable flood of abuse and assault.

Why? The article was cautiously worded; readers had to read between the lines to unravel some of the ideas expressed. But the main thought was crystal clear: "Jewish settlement in the territories is a psychological hothouse for the growth of Jewish terror."

Ahituv made it clear the Israeli ruling circles sympathised with Jewish terrorism directed against Arabs, echoing the charges levelled by peace movements here: "The official political and executive circles are responsible for preventing the arrest of the criminals."

There is a clear connection between the settlements, as acts of rape of lands, and the occupation, as an act of political rape. And the perpetuation of the occupation and of the settlement on Arab territories could not have been possible without an escalation in colonialist repression directed against Palestinian opposition in the occupied lands.

The government is irate, because Ahituv's statements point an accusing finger at it. And it is ironic that the Attorney General's office is considering the possibility of putting Ahituv, Saguy and Ben Gal on trial, if it is proved that their utterances were in contravention of the law, which stipulates that no senior government employee may make political statements, just because he is out of uniform.

We realise, and have been buttressed in our opinion by official statements, that the facist terrorism directed against the Arabs in the occupied lands, with all its racist manifestations, grows and prospers in the shadow of the occupation, and derives its strength from official policy.

All Jewish and Arab peace-loving movements, are urged to escalate the fight against the occupation for a just Palestinian-Israeli peace, which is the only way we can uproot the racist terrorism threatening the basis of democracy within Israel itself.

AL ITTIHAD
August 24

MILITARY NEW 'LANDLORD' FOR GAZA BEACHFRONT

Israeli military authorities notified five restaurant owners on the Gaza beach, August 21, that they must pay rent for the plots on which their restaurants are built. The measure, which is likely to adversely affect tourism for the city, followed an undeclared measure by the Israeli authorities which transferred administration of the beach area (previously run by the municipality) to the Israeli authorities.

Occupation authorities in Gaza paved the way for such a step one week earlier, when they summoned the owners of the five restaurants: the Cliff, the Abu Hwaidi, the al-Salam, the Abu Hasireh, and the Aashour, to the military compound and informed them that their businesses are built on government property and that they must evacuate and demolish the restaurants within one month. The owners, many of whom had been in business for over 20 years, were astonished. "My father suffered a stroke when he got the news," said Rafiq Abu Hasireh, who now runs the al-Salam restaurant, at the end of Omar al-Mukhtar Street.

He explained that his father could not bear to see the sole source of livelihood for the family destroyed. The restaurant is considered an important source of income for six large families.

Several days later, owners heard rumours that the authorities' warning was aimed at pressuring them into accepting a new procedure for paying rent. According to one of the restaurant owners, who did not want his name published, the five businessmen prepared a letter which they had planned to send to the military governorate, in order to get them to rescind their decision. The Israeli authorities, however, acted before they could post it.

The three owners, Tarturi, al-Salam and Abu Hasireh, who were summoned to the office of the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property, were informed that they must pay rent or else be evicted and have their restaurants demolished. The military government officer did not give them any further information except to add that they would be summoned again, once the Israeli officer in charge of the department returns to work. The restaurant owners agreed to the Israeli conditions on the spot.

Revenue of shoreline restaurants have deteriorated rapidly over the past few years, Rafiq Abu Hasireh and other owners charge. Abu Hasireh says that revenues are barely sufficient to pay for water, electricity and maintenance expenses. At lunch time, one day last weekend, the busiest time for all restaurants, fewer than a dozen people were eating in the main hall and in the covered yard of one of the establishments. Abu Hasireh said that the annual business time is limited to between the beginning of July and mid-September, only two-and-a-half months. During the winter season, the five brothers who run the restaurant go to work as hired labourers in Israeli factories.

The Gaza coastline is restricted to Palestinian residents after 7:00 pm. Restaurant owners say that military patrols comb the beach throughout the night and harass anyone they find in the area.

Nationalists in the Gaza Strip believe that Israeli authorities aim to impose recognition of their control over the beach area through the forced rent.

Rafiq Abu Hasireh, at his beachfront restaurant in Gaza. The military authorities, who have recently assumed control over the area, have issued an ultimatum to restaurant owners, by which they must either pay rent or have their establishments demolished.

ISLAMIC EXHIBIT CLOSED

"The Israeli authorities ordered the Gaza Islamic University to cancel the Cultural Week which was scheduled for August 21.

"Israeli troops raided the university campus and destroyed the exhibits, which included Palestinian handiwork. They pulled down a special wing which displayed the work of Palestinian prisoners.

"The soldiers carried away most of the exhibits and arrested 17 students who happened to be on the scene. The university's Board of Trustees and the Administrative Board took prompt action and contacted the authorities, who finally released the students on bail.

"The exhibition coincided with the first day of registration of new students and was a normal university activity designed to inculcate in students an appreciation of their Palestinian identity." (Translation: Al Fajr, August 22, 1983).

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The fair, part of an annual event called the Cultural Week Exhibition, was arranged by the Islamic-bloc dominated student council. Only Islamic books were displayed, such as books by Sayyed Qutob, a famous Muslim philosopher, Sheikh Hassan al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and Muslim magazines. The 'prisoners section' contained only pictures of members of the student council who were detained several months ago for visiting and distributing *Al Nida* magazine, an Islamic periodical published in Gaza.

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Workers Assaulted

Two Palestinian workers and one taxi driver from Gaza filed a complaint of police assault against three border guards, August 23.

Khalil Kulab, 22, and Mu'in Mohammed Awad, 17, said they were in Gaza bus station with hundreds of other workers who daily wait for Israeli contractors to hire them when at 11:00 am, August 23, a military jeep, number 6422, approached them and three border guards got out and started to push them. Soldiers ordered, "You sit there, you stand up," according to the workers.

When a group of workers protested against the harassment, the pair was forced into the jeep, driven to a beach area and beaten for one hour.

When the soldiers returned, they ordered taxi driver Khader Salabeh out of his taxi and made a thorough search of his vehicle.

The correspondent of *Al Ittihad* newspaper reported he had seen evidence that the workers had been beaten. (Translation: Al Ittihad, August 23 1983.)

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Arens

Jordan, and Wahid Ja'abari, the son of the late Mohammed Ali Ja'abari, the first mayor of Hebron after the Israeli occupation in 1967.

In a second interview with *Al Anba'*, August 24, Freij made it clear that as long as the deposed mayors refuse to deal with the 'civil administration,' they would be unlikely to return to their posts.

Salman Astal, of Khan Yunis, told *Al Fajr* that he presented Arens with demands for the improvement of his city. He asked to be allowed to bring money from the Arab world without having any skimmed off to the military government development fund. "I also asked that Gaza farmers be allowed to market their products in Israel, just like Israeli products are marketed in the West Bank and Gaza," he said.

Astal said he conveyed to the Israeli minister the Palestinian people's demand for self-determination through a general referendum. "Arens gave no reply to any of the requests," he concluded.

During Arens' second meeting with Freij in Bethlehem, discussions were centered on economic issues. Arens, who visited four Israeli settlements in the West Bank before helicoptering to Bethlehem, played down the political significance of the meeting, saying it concentrated on municipal issues rather than political ones. He called Bethlehem "a model for Jewish and Arab co-existence, just as Christians and Muslims live in it." Freij told reporters after the meeting that Arens "promised" to look into his requests for greater aid.

West Bank observers note that during the past few months, pro-Jordanian figures showed greater activity and more openness in their dealings with the 'civil administration' and other Israeli officials.

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) denounced, August 23, the meeting of the three Palestinian figures with Israeli defence minister Moshe Arens. The statement said the meeting is a departure from the national consensus and from the Palestine National Council decisions.

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Nationalists

unity of the Palestinian people. He stressed that "our nation will reject them and abort these attempts." He also referred to the first Palestinian national conference of 1964, which was held in Jerusalem, as the source of the PLO's legitimacy.

Dr Thabet Ahmad Thabet, a Tulkarm dentist, remarked that the PLO did not acquire legitimacy through Arab summit conferences, but through long years of struggle and through its ability to keep the Palestinian people unified under its burden.

Dr Fayyad Abd al-Rahman Fayyad, also from Tulkarm, added his voice to those who condemned King Hussein's statement, calling it a "plot against the legitimacy of the PLO." He urged that differences within the Palestinian national movement be solved through democratic channels.

King Hussein, who is generally viewed with suspicion in the occupied territories, tried to get the PLO to back US President Ronald Reagan's September 1, 1982 initiative, which calls for the establishment of a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to negotiate for the Palestinians. The PLO rejected the Reagan plan. After the break-off of talks between the PLO and the Jordanian monarch, the Amman government issued a lengthy statement in which they pledged to follow "a policy which would suit Jordanian interests." Since then, a series of travel restrictions have been imposed on Palestinian residents of the occupied territories. (Translation: Al Fajr, August 22 and 23, 1983).

Military Closes UNRWA Sports Club

The Israeli military governor of Rafah closed down Rafah Services Centre, the largest youth club in the city, August 18, on the pretext that it allegedly is involved in political activities.

According to the text of the order, all property inside the club building is to be confiscated. The order also prohibits any activity and warns that any activity inside the club is an offence, punishable by law.

Mohammed Saraj, the director of UNRWA in Rafah camp, was summoned, August 21, to the military governorate in Rafah and notified of the closure. The military accused the administration of the club of illegal activities, such as issuing a calendar and organising exhibitions for pictures without a permit and holding festivals at the centre.

On the same day, six members of the Rafah Services Centre were summoned and charged. The court convened, August 24, to hear cases of six members of the club but the hearing was postponed indefinitely.

Rafah Services Centre is a leading Palestinian athletic club, known for its excellent soccer teams. It was established more than 20 years ago by UNRWA for the Palestinian refugee camp.

Israeli authorities have closed down most refugee camp youth clubs in the West Bank and Gaza in the past two years.

Aloni Knocks Sexists

Sulamit Aloni, a member of Knesset for the Citizens Rights Movement, said in an interview she gave to the Israeli magazine *Women* that Ashkenazi Israeli males are hypocritical. "Manliness for them," she said, "is a crucial thing. They call for equal rights — but when a woman succeeds at more than what she is expected and 'allowed', they begin to mock her."

Aloni severely criticised the stereotypical Israeli male. "He always tries to prove himself as an occupier," she said.

Unlike the Ashkenazi, Aloni said, Arabs and Saphardim respect women who succeed. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, August 15, 1983).

WEEKLY REVIEW

Haj Musa al-Khales (right), 80 years old, describes how settlers of a yeshiva have been harassing him and his family, in a bid to coerce them into leaving their Old City homes. He charged that they are pelted with rubbish (left), the entrances to their homes are blocked and they are awakened at night by noises. Several other Arab families residing in the Aqbat Khaldiyeh quarter have also been subjected to similar harassment. /JN

August 17, 1983

STUDENTS SENTENCED

HEBRON — The Hebron military court sentenced Abd al-Kaleq Ahmad Titi, a resident of the Fawwar refugee camp in the Hebron district, to one year suspended imprisonment following conviction of having participated in demonstrations last year. The court also fineed Titi, a fourth-year student at Bethlehem University, IS35,000.

In Ramallah, the military court imposed a IS25,000 fine on another student, Hanan Saleh Barghouthi, from nearby Kobar, following conviction on charges of having participated in demonstrations and of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

TEACHER FIRED

RAMALLAH — The director of the military government's education office in the West Bank ordered the dismissal of Nidal Ata Abdallah, who had been teaching at the Kharbatha Misbah school in Ramallah. Abdallah's father was fired in a similar move last year. The department gave no explanation.

ARMS SALESMAN FINED

JERUSALEM — The Netanya appeals court extended the detention of an Israeli accused of having sold a gun to a Palestinian guerilla cell, at the request of the prosecution. The Israeli, Yitzhak Ehud, had been charged with unlawfully selling a handgun for IS7000.

Members of the cell had used the gun in an abortive attempt to kidnap and murder an Israeli army officer last July. The prosecution told the court Ehud was in possession of a small arsenal.

LOAN FOR WATER

GAZA — The local council of the village of Kararah, in the Gaza Strip, applied to the 'civil administration' for a IS9,180,000 loan to help finance plans to improve the village water system and upgrade the electricity grid.

Reports said an international organisation will contribute IS550,000.

GAS LEAKS

HEBRON — Hebron residents claim that some gas companies are using faulty gas cylinders to supply them with fuel. They have demanded that the gas companies take immediate action to forestall a disaster.

LAWYER ARRESTED AT BRIDGE

JERICHO — Israeli border officials arrested a Palestinian lawyer, Talab Salim Abu Bakr, from the village of Ya'abad, as she was crossing to the West Bank from Jordan where she is currently living. Abu Bakr, who was travelling with her two children, was coming to visit relatives when she was arrested. No reason was given.

UNDER THE LAND

JERUSALEM — Israel intends to establish an 'underground' settlement in the Jordan lowlands (Ghor).

Plans are now underway, according to official announcements, but no further details are available.

LAND GRAB PROTEST

JERUSALEM — The Charitable Society of the Eastern Sawahreh tribes joined residents in denouncing Israeli land expropriations in the region.

The tribes protested vehemently against the surveying of village lands in the Abu Ghislan, Ajami and Thahrat al-Tazmi areas without knowledge or approval of the landowners.

They also denounced attempts by Israeli bulldozers to lay down settlement access roads in the region of Wadi al-Lubban and called on the government to order an immediate stoppage to all such "illegal activities."

EXAM DISCUSSED

JERICHO — For the third time in two months, a special top-level delegation of West Bank educational representatives will go to Amman to discuss the question of the controversial "comprehensive examinations" West Bank students are being forced to take.

The delegation includes representatives from the higher education council, UNRWA and various educational instuitutions in the West Bank.

HOUSE ARREST

JENIN — The Israeli authorities placed Kifah Atallah Abu Haija, a resident of Jenin, under house arrest for six months. Abu Haija, who has already spent six years in Israeli jails and was released two years ago, has been arrested repeatedly since then.

PASSPORT TAKEN

RAMALLAH — The Israeli military authorities have confiscated the passport of unionist Adnan Dagher and are refusing to return it to him. Dagher had been stopped at the Jordan River bridges and ordered to report to Israeli intelligence services in Ramallah. There he was interrogated and told to return to pick up his passport, which was confiscated at the bridge, but he claims he still has not received it.

August 18, 1983

ARMY'S WING

JERUSALEM — The Israeli army is helping to set up a new settlement, Adam, along the main Jerusalem-Jericho highway about 20 kilometres east of Jerusalem. It is supplying the settlers with tents, water and electricity, pending a decision by the Israeli government on granting the settlement permanent status.

VENDORS HIT

RAMALLAH — Police authorities have launched a campaign against street vendors and kiosks in central Ramallah. Several stalls have been pulled down and the goods displayed confiscated. Police intend to impose heavy fines on the vendors for setting up shop on the pavements. There was no warning for the harassment.

JUST PIPES FOR NOW

JERUSALEM — The Supreme Court of Israel heard an appeal by 15 land owners in the village of Deir Abu Da'if against the government's intention to expropriate their land. After the session, the Israeli authorities backed down from their decision and announced that the main purpose behind the excavations being carried out on the lands in question was merely to lay down a water pipe-line and not to establish a settlement.

TRAVEL

RAMALLAH — The Israeli authorities have rescinded permission for mayors of towns and villages in the Ramallah district to travel to Jordan.

The mayors need to go to Amman, where thousands of dinars in municipal funds are being kept aside, in order to seek approval from Jordanian authorities to have the funds released. The mayors say several development projects are being held up because of lack of funds in the West Bank.

FINED FOR FINE

RAMALLAH — A Ramallah merchant has been fined IS40,000 for being one week late in his payment of a IS15,000 tax assessment. The merchant, Salem Shahin, runs a shoe store in the centre of town.

ARSON IN GAZA

GAZA — Unidentified arsonists set fire to a vehicle in the Nasseirat refugee camp in Gaza. The owner of the VW double-chain van notified police. The investigation is continuing.

August 19, 1983

BOOK FAIR SUCCESS

RAMALLAH — Bir Zeit University's Arab book exhibit has been an outstanding success, organisers said.

Several West Bank bookshops and libraries participated in the exhibit, which also featured the work of Palestinian artists Suleiman Mansour, Kamel Al Mughani and Ali Bardawil.

SHAKA'A TO GENEVA

NABLUS — Bassam Shaka'a, the ousted mayor of Nablus, has received an official invitation to participate in the International Conference on the Palestinian Question being held in Geneva later this month.

Shaka'a has notified the Israeli authorities of his intention to accept the invitation and has applied for permission to travel to Geneva but has received no reply yet.

Reports said Shaka'a had been asked to explain to participants in the conference the historical implications of the Palestinian crisis, to outline the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the status of the city of Jerusalem.

He is also expected to talk about the Palestinian question within the international framework, and the role of the UN in solving this problem.

SECOND CHILD DIES

JERUSALEM — Another 7-year-old Arab child has died from injuries he received when a bomb he had stumbled upon blew up.

Mohammad Mustafa Abu Amous Sbaieh was the second casualty claimed by the bomb, which blew up in the vicinity of the village of Hussan, near Bethlehem, last week. The other child, Mohammad Hamamreh, also 7, was instantly killed.

Police said the children had been tampering with the bomb, but residents themselves later uncovered 17 grenades from the nearby area after soldiers had conducted a brief search.

Residents noted that the Israeli authorities had refused permission to Hamamreh's parents to bury the child the day after he had died and forced them to bury him late the same night.

August 20, 1983

STREET BRAWL

JERUSALEM - An Israeli was stabbed during a brawl at the Old City's Herod's Gate, police reported.

They said two Arabs had attacked the Israeli near the historic gate and had stabbed him with a sharp knife. The attackers escaped.

AL-AQSA MEMORIES

JERUSALEM - Today marks the 14th anniversary of the attempt to burn al-Aqsa Mosque down.

On this day, 14 years ago, an allegedly demented Australian sheep-shearer, Dennis Rohan, set fire to the mosque, one of the most sacred Islamic shrines.

NAJAH UNIVERSITY

NABLUS — Najah University is pressing ahead with its efforts to get the Israeli military authorities to allow the university, closed since June 4, to be reopened in time for registration of new students.

So far, however, there has been no response from the authorities despite repeated attempts by the university. The university has been ordered closed until September 1.

SCHOOL BREAK-IN

JERUSALEM — Thieves broke into the secondary school in Anabta, a West Bank village, and made away with the switchboard. The thieves also ransacked the administration offices.

DRIVE SAFELY

NABLUS - The traffic police in Nablus launched a new safety drive, following a spate of traffic accidents which were mainly caused by reckless drivers.

Residents expressed their satisfaction with the campaign, which is proving effective in cutting down on the road toll.

CENTRE CLOSED

GAZA - The Israeli authorities have ordered the closure of the Rafah services centre. The order came into effect last Tuesday and evoked a storm of protest from residents who pointed out that the centre was the only avenue for youth activities in Rafah.

The closure was particularly inconvenient now that students are on holiday and have nowhere to go. Residents have appealed to the authorities to rescind their order.

COOPERATIVE STARTS

BETHLEHEM — A new agricultural cooperative society has been formed in the village of Obeidiyeh, in the Bethlehem district.

NATIONAL BLOC FOR ELECTIONS

NAZARETH — Nationalist factions in Baqa al-Gharbiyeh, in the Triangle, have banded together to form a new political party, "The Unified National Progressive Faction."

The new faction will coordinate nationalist efforts in the village election drive. Polls for local councils will be held in Israel on October 25.

August 21 1983

STUDENT LEADER HELD

NAZARETH — Samir Suleiman, head of the Regional Committee of Secondary Arab Students in Israel, was summoned to police headquarters for interrogation because he sent a cable to Prime Minister Menachem Begin protesting against the proposed cut in the education budget. Police also questioned him about slogans painted on walls in Nazareth denouncing the Hebron massacres and about his committee.

Suleiman said his interrogator insulted, abused him and threatened to ruin his "educational future."

ANXIOUS SETTLERS

JERUSALEM — More than 1600 Jewish families are waiting to be absorbed in Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, according to Israeli reports.

The families first applied for settlement three months ago. Most of them are young married couples. Some have signed up to live in still non-existent settlements. Among these, 250 families will be settled in Ariel, Ma'ale Adumim and Kiryat Arba.

HITLER-LIKE

JERUSALEM — Police have launched an investigation to determine the identity of the editor/publisher of a circular making the rounds of the city, which compares Jerusalem police chief Rahamim Comfort to Adolf Hitler. The circular first appeared at a meeting held by ultra-Orthodox Jews near the excavation site at the City of David. The circular carried pictures of Hitler and Comfort, with the caption: "What is the connection?"

MURCUS IN COURT

KUFR YASIF — Israel's Central Galilee Planning Board took Mayor of Kufr Yasif, Nimr Murcus, to court for having built a 100-metre-long retaining wall without a permit. Last May, the board issued an order to have the work stopped, and Murcus complied with it, pending the granting of a permit. However, instead of issuing a permit to the mayor, the board sued him.

Municipal sources said it had been necessary to build the walls along a dirt road in a new quarter of the town that lacked facilities and services. They said because that road was inaccessible, municipal vehicles could not provide residents with any services.

August 22, 1983

POLICE ASSAULTS

RAMA, GALILEE — Residents complain that a police officer who tried to search the house of Hani Attour beat him and members of his family when prevented.

The policeman, who was only identified as 'Yusef', went to the house last week and asked to be allowed to conduct a search. When Attour protested, Yusef arrested him. A few days later, the police officer assaulted some of Attour's relatives while they walked in a village street. The father of one of the assaulted men was beaten by the same officer in the presence of the officer in charge when he tried to file a complaint at Carmiel police station.

One of the men had to be hospitalised as a result of the beating.

SUMMER COURSES

HEBRON — Some 400 students are expected to sign up for Hebron University's summer courses, for which registration begins today and closes August 25.

TRAVELLERS STILL COMPLAIN

GAZA - Residents complain that Egyptian border officials are sill abusing and ill-treating them. Great numbers of students are being sent back, on an almost daily basis, without any explanation for the ban on their travel movements. Students say the ban plays havoc with their education.

TEACHERS BACK

JENIN — Several teachers dismissed a year ago have been reinstated, the Jenin education department announced. The number included a teacher who had been forcibly retired. The Israeli education office in the West Bank also notified the Jenin department that it had decided to make 16 new centres available this year.

TRAFFIC BLITZ

NABLUS — The campaign to stop traffic accidents in the northern regions of the West Bank has prevented several accidents, according to the police. Some 90 traffic policemen, who are participating in a blitz on traffic offenders launched on August 15, have issued a total of 700 tickets.

Most of the offences involved breaking the speed limit, reckless driving and obstructing traffic. Another hundred people were caught driving without a licence.

PILGRIMS DELAYED

NABLUS — The first convoy of West Bank Arab pilgrims, which was scheduled to have set off for the holy city of Mecca this week, will not leave until next Sunday.

August 23, 1983

JOURNALISTS STRIKE

JERUSALEM — The Palestinian Journalists Association in the West Bank announced a one-day strike in protest at the closure of the Arabic-language fortnightly, *Al Shira'*.

The magazine, closed by the Jerusalem District Commissioner, takes effect today. The strike affected *Al Fajr*, *Al Shaab*, and *Al Mithaq*.

"TRY RACISTS"

HAIFA — The head of Taibeh's local council, Abd al-Latif Habib, is demanding that Edi Halpern, former director of the Likud election campaign in Tel Aviv, be put on trial for racist remarks against Arabs. Halpern said in a recent interview that Arabs who refuse to co-exist with Israelis should be killed and that he approved of the policy of apartheid in dealing with Arabs.

SETTLEMENTS PRIORITY

JERUSALEM — The Israeli government is discussing a new US$1.5 billion settlement plan for the next three years, according to a report in *Yediot Ahaharanot*. The reports said the government is keeping the plan secret at a time when efforts are being made to introduce wide-range spending cuts. The plan was drawn up by the Agriculture Ministry and Matityahu Drobless, settlement czar for the World Zionist Organisation. It predicts the settlement of 100,000 Israelis in the West Bank in the next three years. The cost would be split; US$900 million being paid by the government and the rest coming from abroad.

The projected plan would provide work for 17,300 people and calls for the construction of 20,860 housing units, the study said.

The plan predicts that Jerusalem and the West Bank will be populated by 1,300,000 Israelis by the year 2010.

MOSQUE

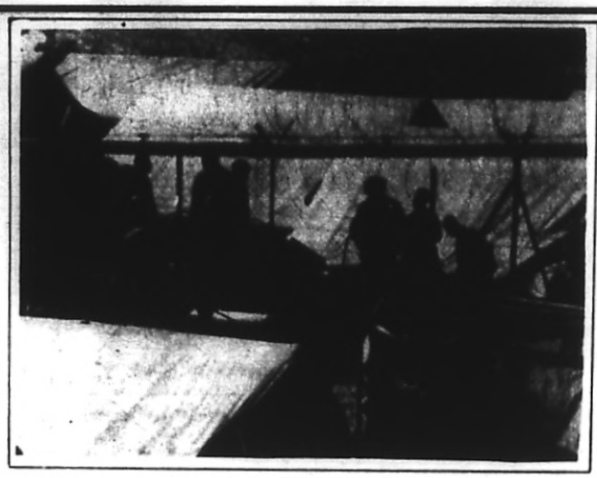
JAFFA — The Israeli government has expressed its willingness to have Egyptian experts participate in the restoration work being carried out on the historic Hassan Bek Mosque in Jaffa.

LITTER INCOME

GAZA — Litterbugs watch out! The Israeli-run Gaza municipality raised fines for littering. The maximum has been set at IS5000.

EXPANSIONIST NABLUS

NABLUS — The Israeli-run municipality of Nablus has decided to extend its jurisdiction over a much wider area. Municipal sources said the city's limits will be extended eastward to include the Askar refugee camp as well as portions of the villages of Rujib and Deir al-Hatab.



ANSAR
THE GREAT ESCAPE

At the beginning of this month, Israeli papers carried reports that 14 people had escaped from Ansar detention camp in South Lebanon and that 10 were recaptured immediately. The military spokesman's office denied reports of a break-out. **Associated Press**, *this week, ran the full story.*

Their reporter, who interviewed the leader of the escape of 50 people, describes it as an almost epic tale. The story, replete with fake tunnels, improvised tools, earth disposal techniques, etc. has undertones of the classic WWII adventure stories so popular in the West.

The August 29 issue of Newsweek *reported that Ansar is in a state of "disorder." Their account says that prisoners have broken down fences between compounds and frequently fight with guards.* Newsweek *said escapes are taking place on an almost daily basis.*

In Lebanon a group of foreign journalists met one of the inmates of Ansar detention camp in South Lebanon who recently led his group out of the camp despite the strict security measures of the Israeli army. He gave the journalists an hour-by-hour description of the "Great Escape" and of recent events in the camp.

"Zero hour" for the large-scale escape was on August 8, when over 50 prisoners escaped through a 22-metre tunnel in three groups. The tunnel was constructed in 45 days, working day and night by using all means available to them.

Escape Process

The leader of the group said prisoners turned into skilled mine workers who learned how to dig and disguise tunnels. "The dirt," he said, "was spread on the ground of the camp, stones were used as hammers and hands for shovels. Air was pumped into the tunnel through stolen pipes and plastic water containers. A stolen metre rule was used to measure the length of the tunnel.

Individual escapes have been accomplished in the past with prisoners hiding in garbage bins, for example, but never in the one year of the camp's existence have so many prisoners succeeded in such an ambitious and well planned scheme.

The leader of the group, a young man in his 30s, remarked that there are constant contacts between prisoners and organisations through "secret means which cannot be revealed now." He added, "I was in regular contact with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, to which I belong. Contacts were also maintained with other vanguard organisations. All organisations inside the camp coordinated activities together and we formed a committee which drew up digging plans.

"Several tunnels were dug at the same time. Some were just to mislead and others for getting to the outside."

He said that the "escape committee" decided on two escape routes: one from tent no. 20 and the second from tent no. 8.

According to him, the Israeli forces discovered the tunnel in tent no. 20 on August 3. The story of an aborted escape was carried in various press reports. They found it "after our comrades had dug about 16 metres and had only a few metres left to go. Therefore we halted work for two days in order not to arouse suspicion which could lead to the discovery of our tunnel.

"Our comrades had dug other smaller tunnels in tents no. 9 and 10. These were false."

He described the physical situation of the camp and the guarding system: "The camp is surrounded by a four-metre-high fence of barbed wire followed by an area of zig-zagged wire in the middle and then another four-metre-high barbed wire barrier. On the road from the north there are 12 observation towers on which strong search lights are fixed. The guarding measures are very strict. The military police and military intelligence take on this role."

The Digging

"We," he explained, "started to use our hands and the tent pegs which we had hidden when we organised our uprising and burned the tents (in June). Some of the professionals among us turned stones into hammers. We dug holes two metres deep. The dirt was spread on the floors of the tents which rose up day after day without arousing the suspicions of the guards who did not pay much attention. We also used the dirt for planting flowers we received from the Red Cross. The Israelis welcomed this."

Twenty-Four Hours a Day

"Our digging lasted 45 days, 24 hours a day without a break. We increased our efforts and hit the pegs more strongly when tanks passed by. When we went deeper into the tunnel, the sound was no longer audible except close by.

"We were also helped by the fact that the Israelis no longer counted us as accurately as before. They started to count us in the yard after we burnt several tents. During this process we covered the mouth of the tunnel with wood from the beds. We turned into mine workers and fortunately the route of the tunnel was rocky. This supported it and prevented it from collapsing, although it made our work more difficult.

Psychological War

"When the Israelis discovered the tunnel in no. 20, they brought tanks and started to go around the camp in order to collapse other possible tunnels. They forgot that tank tracks form a bridge if the width of the hole is narrower than a tank.

"When they discovered tunnel no. 20, an intelligence officer called 'Bak' gathered us and tried to terrorise us by pretending that he has machines which discover tunnels. This psychological war did not intimidate us. If he had discovered even our fake tunnels, he would have summoned us and punished us severely. 'Bak' tried to transfer the detainees of tent no. 20 to other prisons in the occupied territories, but Salah Ta'amari (a military leader), in tent no. 3, acknowledged as the senior officer in Ansar, asked them to disperse to other tents."

Talking again about the tunnel he said: "We were three groups, each of seven comrades, who worked about 8 hours every day and sometimes more. When a group member gave up working he was asked to take an oath of silence.

"In order to measure the distance dug, we initially used a 10-centimetre ruler stolen from the clinic.

"As for removing the dirt, we brought plastic jars, cut them in half and tied a rope to both sides. This ran inside the tunnel. Another rope was fixed at the entrance in the tent. When the jar was full of dirt, the digger signalled those outside who pulled the jar, emptied it... and thus the process continued.

"At first we used a gasoline lamp which we had in our tent to light the tunnel. But when we went deeper inside, the lack of oxygen stopped it and we used mirrors. With one mirror at the entrance of the tunnel and another at the face we reflected sunlight into it. It wasn't very strong but it was helpful."

"Zero Hour"

"When we finished, we reported to the 'escape committee.' It set the zero hour at 9:00 pm at night and to help us we asked the comrades in tents nos. 4 and 10 to create disturbances. They also held a dancing and singing party near the fence, something organised from time to time. This was our cover and shifted the attention of the guards in the observation towers."

He added, "We went down in the tunnel and when we arrived at the end, I heard 'Bak' giving orders through the loudspeakers for all detainees to return to their tents because of the mess caused by the pretended disturbances and the party.

"During the escape process, when 40 persons were already out, and just as I got out, I heard a shot. Then I suggested my group disperse and with the help of people from the Lebanese National Resistance Front, who were waiting outside, we got to one of the bases.

"When we heard shots we knew the escape process had been discovered. Then flares were released and aircraft flew over us and started dropping more flares and firing heavily into the mountains and valleys around the camp. The Israelis did not send infantry units after us because they are frightened at night. They used planes to try to hold us up until morning. We heard the sound of several vehicles and tanks moving on the roads, but we were climbing the mountains and crossing the valleys. The groups were distributed to several places with the help of elements from the LNF who were waiting for us."

(Associated Press, August 22, 1983)

Prisoners in Ansar Camp, South Lebanon.